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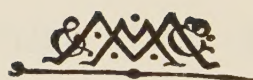






# ROME AND REFORM





# ROME AND REFORM

BY

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OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

IN TWO VOLUMES

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## CHAPTER I

### POLAND <sup>1</sup>

The Land at its highest Power . . .	1466-1572
The Jesuits—Change for the worse . .	1572-1648
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POLAND naturally comes after Ireland; the two are much alike in their warlike spirit, in their love of disunion, in their devotion to Rome, and in their gloomy history since the Counter Reformation set in.

Here we have to go back to the year 1300, and to draw a line, roughly speaking, between Grodno and Zamosc, afterwards lengthening it in a South-West direction on to the Hungarian border.<sup>2</sup> To the West of this line dwelt the Poles, who had been centuries earlier converted from heathenism by Rome. To the East of this line dwelt the White and Red Russians, who, in common with their countrymen at Moscow, were the spiritual offspring of the Greek patriarch at Constantinople, and claimed the name of Orthodox. To the North of Grodno dwelt the Lithuanians, a race of valiant Pagans, the most interesting of all Europeans in the eyes of a philologer. The deeds of these three nations make up the future history of Poland.

Not long after 1300 the Lithuanians achieved the conquest of White Russia; happily for their purpose the whole

<sup>1</sup> In this chapter I depend much on Lelewel, Krasinski, and Morfill.

<sup>2</sup> This line begins rather too far to the East at Grodno.



of Muscovy was at this time split up into several principalities; even the holy city of Kiev fell a prey to these Northern Pagans. The two great aggressive European nations in this Century were Lithuania and England. In 1340 the Poles took possession of Galicia, a part of Red Russia. In 1386 Jagello, the Lithuanian King, wedded Hedwiga, the heiress of Poland, and embraced her creed on the occasion of his marriage. Henceforward Poland and Lithuania ran their course side by side for four centuries, though with many an angry side-thrust at each other; the new kingdom was immense, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and including much of Russia.

The line of the Jagellons, a line sadly wanting in the genius shown by Capetians and Angevins, wore the Crown for nearly two hundred years; their main achievement was the conquest of West Prussia from the Crusading knights in 1466; Dantzic thus became one of Poland's chief cities; East Prussia was still independent. The mighty State seemed to be in the enjoyment of great power and prosperity, but all this time there was a canker gnawing at the well-being of Poland. The nobles were becoming more and more untrammelled, and the peasants were being robbed by degrees of all their liberties.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there was much tolerance in religion. Jews, persecuted everywhere else, swarmed throughout the land, and a Mahometan colony dwelt in peace near Wilna. In 1460 the nomination to Polish Sees was transferred from Rome to the Crown, and the Papal authority was altogether much limited.<sup>2</sup> Only a few heretics were burnt in Poland, while Western Europe was reeking with the blood of victims.

The country might almost be accounted an ally of Bohemia in the fierce Hussite Wars; Koributt, a kinsman of the Jagellon King, was elected to the Regency of Bohemia; and the new heretical doctrines found their way to Cracow, at this time both the capital and the University of the Poles. Here a hymn in honour of Wickliffe was written

<sup>1</sup> Lelewel, *Histoire de Pologne*, enters fully into all these matters. I have also consulted Morfill's *Poland*.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel, last volume, 115.

by a master of arts about 1449.<sup>1</sup> Daring schemes were now in hand; not only the cause of the Pope, but that of the Polish King was at stake. Some of the Reformers wished to abolish the royal dignity altogether, and to make the Republic (the official name of the Polish State) a reality.<sup>2</sup> Ostrorog, a man of the highest family, proclaimed that the King of Poland had no superior but God; that Christ had not subjected temporal affairs to Rome; that the clergy ought not to oppress their flocks with fees for sacred rites. On the other hand, an evil law of 1505 excluded those who were not noble from the higher dignities of the Church, thus annulling one of the redeeming points of the Roman system, which throws open all honours, even the Papacy itself, to the high and the low alike.<sup>3</sup> I mark this new Polish law as an early presage of future woes.

Thus things stood in 1507 when Sigismund I. began to reign in Poland. Even before Luther had broken with Rome, the Bohemian Brethren, exiles from their own land, had prepared the dwellers on the Vistula for some great change in religion. The Germans, endowed with many privileges, were widely scattered throughout the cities of Poland; in West Prussia, of course, they were the leading race. So early as 1518 Dantzic, which stood at the head of the burgher interest, was startled by a monk preaching against Rome. A few years later Laski, the Polish Primate, had himself to visit that city, but found that he could not put down the German heretics. In 1525 four thousand armed burghers of Dantzic elected a new Council and abolished Roman worship altogether. Next year the Polish Diet outlawed the refractory city; King Sigismund I. led his troops thither, beheaded fifteen of the rebel leaders, and restored the old faith. Even Albert, the Duke of East Prussia, who had turned Lutheran and made his Duchy an hereditary possession (the first instance of secularisation in history), lent his aid to his liege Lord the King in this

<sup>1</sup> This is given by Krasinski, *Reformation in Poland*, i. 68. I follow Krasinski all through this chapter; he writes like a most moderate Protestant. His book came out in 1838.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 108.

business. Thorn, Elbing, and other towns in those quarters were favouring the Reformation, and even the Bishop of Ermeland spoke in praise of Luther. A few years later Dantzic was able to side openly with Protestantism.

The Polish clergy enacted many canons against heresy, but could not prevent the young nobles from going to study at the German universities; the canons were allowed to remain a dead letter. King Sigismund, like many of the Jagellons, seems to have been a weak, inconstant man; he chose this time, 1539, to declare the freedom of the Press. He issued many edicts on the Pope's behalf, but never gave effect to them. The nobles now passed several laws which bore hard upon the clergy and upon the Papal revenues drawn from Poland. The land was at the high tide of prosperity; but the nobles, eager for wealth, were becoming more oppressive than ever to the burghers and peasants. At this time flourished Copernicus, the greatest of Polish sages. In 1537 took place a *rokosz*, or legalised rebellion of nobles against the King; it was to be often repeated in the next two Centuries. Sigismund published a code of laws for Lithuania in the White Russian tongue, the official language of that turbulent realm, where Pagan rites were even now not wholly extinct.

Protestantism had made some impression upon Posen, but its main stronghold was in Cracow, where certain of the most learned nobles, some of whom had studied in Germany, formed a club for religious discussion. Their leader was Lismanini, provincial of the Franciscans and Confessor to the Queen; among them was the future Primate, Uchanski. It was here that Socinianism was first broached in Poland, a creed that was to be one of the main causes that wrecked the Reformation on the Vistula. Still at this time a number of powerful nobles left the Church and protected the Protestant doctrines.

These doctrines unhappily took many forms in Poland. Lutheranism was naturally the creed of the German cities in West Prussia. Calvin's opinions, so favourable to the power of the laity, had great weight with the proud Polish aristocrats. Socinus was to sow his tares rather later.

Another sect was that of the Bohemian Brethren, who had borne much suffering since their separation from the other Hussites in 1456. Driven from their own land in 1548, they were received in Posnania, and afterwards passed on to Prussia.

In that same year Sigismund II. (Augustus) succeeded his father, whom he much resembled in character. He early offended his nobles by making the lovely but dissolute Barbara Radziwill his Queen. Her brother, the head of a most powerful house, was the Chancellor of Lithuania, and had spread the Protestant doctrines far and wide through that land. Yet the Polish Protestants were so unwise as to join their brother nobles in protesting against the King's marriage in the imaginary interests of their order. The new reign began with a brawl among the Cracow students, very like the earlier Oxford riots described by Matthew Paris; many of the youths left in disgust and went to study in Germany. The new Protestant University of Konigsberg, lately set up in East Prussia, received many of the young deserters.

Hitherto Protestantism had mainly made its influence felt by refusals to pay tithes and by clerical marriages. But now Olesnicki, the lord of Pinczov, drove out the monks from a convent in his town and set up the Calvinistic worship. He was summoned before a Church court, but he overawed it. He then had to appear before the King and Senate; but little followed, though the great Tarnowski, the first noble in the land, leant to severity, in spite of his own Protestant tendencies.<sup>1</sup> The Church held a synod at Piotrkow in 1552, where it was resolved to put down heresy, as the clergy themselves were becoming infected. Hosius, the famous Bishop of Ermeland, compiled a creed which was to serve as a test of orthodoxy. The first victim to the persecution was a parish priest, who was got rid of in prison. But the bloody purposes of the Church were in general thwarted by the free laws of the land and by the privileges of the nobles.

<sup>1</sup> Tarnowski was a correspondent of Calvin's, but was for a middle course; he wished to keep the Church, but to reform its abuses.

Orzechowski, a man of loose principles and shifting creed, had studied under Luther, but had afterwards become a priest. He soon broke with Rome, and was the leading spirit in the Diet of 1550, which besought Sigismund not to allow the Bishops to usurp the power of the Crown. The deputies from the Russian provinces in 1552 were especially vehement against Rome; many of them showed their scorn of the Host at its elevation. The Church was refused all means of enforcing her censures. In the Diet of 1562 the Starosts were positively forbidden to carry out the will of the Bishops; heretics were to enjoy all the rights of citizens. Orzechowski wrote to Pope Julius III., "You have to do with a Russian, not with an Italian; with the citizen of a kingdom, where the monarch himself has to obey the law." He called Paul IV. "a human monster, a wolf, scoundrel, drone, ass, ravenous beast;" the fourth of these epithets was surely most unjust. The Reformer observed that a Bishop who was made a Senator must be a traitor to Poland, as his allegiance was due first to the Pope, then to the King. The monks, swarming like locusts, well-fed swine, lived a comfortable life among their lemans, and fattened themselves for hell. The riches of the Polish Bishops were enormous in spite of their vast expenditure.<sup>1</sup> This scurrilous denouncer of Rome was after a few years equally vehement on her side; he began to assert that the Pope alone established Kings, and that the Archbishop of Gnezno, the Primate, was the corner-stone of the Polish State. One of the renegade's theories may be here mentioned: "It is better to abandon the realm to the Muscovites than to heretics."<sup>2</sup> He has been taken at his word.

As a contrast to Orzechowski, we may glance at the career of John Laski, better known in England as A Laseo. He was the nephew of the Polish Primate, and his family bore a great share in the contest between the two candidates for the Hungarian Crown after 1525. Young John Laski went to study in the West, and seems through life to have gained the hearty friendship of every one with whom he

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, i. 196, gives some specimens of this episcopal wealth.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 213.



came in contact, beginning with the great Erasmus, whose library he bought. The youth was named to a Hungarian See, but returned home to his uncle, became Provost of Gnezno, and made a friend of his future enemy, Hosius. In 1536 Laski was reported to be wavering in his religion, and two years later he declined the See of Cujavia, explaining his motives to Sigismund I.; he went to Mayence, and then lived for some time at Louvain. Here the Polish priest married, and thus threw down the gauntlet to the Pope. In 1543 he undertook the oversight of the Protestant churches in East Friesland, contending against Romanists and Anabaptists alike. His writings were held in high esteem by Melancthon and Calvin. He was driven in disguise to England in 1549, at the time when all German Protestants had to bow before their victorious Emperor. Our Pole, in common with many other foreigners, was entertained in Lambeth Palace, and doubtless helped forward the English Reformation; among his friends was the great Cecil.<sup>1</sup> Laski was the pastor of the foreigners who worshipped in the church of Austin Friars; this he had to leave in 1553, when Queen Mary had come to the throne. After encountering a loathsome specimen of Lutheran bigotry he settled at Frankfort, and, prompted by the new Polish King, did his best to unite the two great schools of Protestantism. He returned to Poland in 1556, and was denounced by the Bishops as the butcher of the Church and nation. He never lost sight of his schemes of union; he wished to reform Poland on the model of the Anglican Church, which he knew well. He took an active part in translating the Bible of Brzesc, and died in 1560. His descendants, like thousands of Polish nobles, went back to Rome, and did their best to destroy the heretical writings of their great forefather.

A less creditable advocate of the Reformation was Modrzewski, who had studied at Wittemberg, and afterwards became secretary to Sigismund Augustus; he wrote

<sup>1</sup> Here Dr. Dalton stops in his biography of Laski; what follows I take from Krasinski. We learn that even Orzechowski was so moved by Laski that he said to him, "*Vir Dei, tibi porrigo manus.*"



various works to give the King an account of the state of religious parties in Poland. The secretary had none of the fire of the average Reformer, but leant to philosophic indifference; he was employed in many embassies abroad. He was excommunicated by the two most bigoted Popes of his time; yet it was proposed to send him to the Council of Trent as secretary to the Polish legation, a body inclined to Protestantism. "Our clergy," writes Modrzewski to the King, "are ignorant of scripture, and have ceased to believe in religion. They have gathered unto themselves enormous possessions: they wish to rule by force alone. Laymen must be admitted to the discussions held on the faith; Bishops ought not to be the sole arbiters. In our country Prelates are rich but unlearned: they leave all teaching to their inferiors. A Bishop should be elected by clergy and laity alike.<sup>1</sup> The mode of the Pope's election should be altogether changed: every nation ought to have a share in the choice. He cannot be infallible, and should be subject to a Council. The Scriptures must be the unerring rule of faith; tradition cannot be binding. We should not make subtle researches into the nature of the Eucharist." This Reformer, it will be seen, wished to handle the Church much like the Polish Republic, and to submit everything to election. Had he and his brethren represented King Sigismund at Trent, there would have been lively scenes between them and their countryman, Cardinal Hosius, a man to whom all toleration was sheer nonsense. The highest authorities in Poland, as in France, wished to convoke a National Synod, and thus to settle disputes without reference to Trent. The ideas of Lasco seemed likely to be adopted about the middle of this century. The Polish Church was tottering, as we gather from many a passage in the *Annals* of Raynaldus, records stamped with the seal of Rome. The greater part of the Senate was composed of heretics, and the like might be said of the lower nobles. Hardly one layman could be reckoned upon by the Bishops, some of whom (Urbanski for instance) were

<sup>1</sup> Even the peasants ought to share in the election. This last theory shows that the author was far beyond his age. See Krasinski, i. 226.

now wavering. Hosius himself acknowledged the evil state of the Church; "we seek the kingdom of Satan, not that of God; we are spiritual in name alone, we are in truth more than carnal. Through us the name of God is blasphemed; we have gone out of the way."<sup>1</sup>

Pope Paul IV. and Calvin wrote in very different styles to King Sigismund, the one denouncing all toleration of heresy, the other urging further advance in the way of Reformation. In 1555 Lippomani appeared as Legate of the Church, and skilfully fostered discord among the Protestants. He convoked at Lowicz a synod of the clergy, who confessed their former evil deeds; they had cruelly oppressed their peasants, forcing them to work even on holy days, and surpassing the nobles in tyranny. They had received heretics in their own palaces. One of the Prelates had said, "Let men believe what they like, so long as my revenues are undiminished." Priests had no knowledge of the law of God. The nobles joined heresy in crowds, in order to seize the goods of the Church; all kinds of books were printed. This Synod perpetrated one of the blackest of crimes. A poor girl was accused of having sold the Host to some Jews, who pierced it with needles. The Synod condemned them all alike to be burnt; but the more enlightened King commanded them to be released. Hereupon the Vice-Chancellor attached the King's seal to an order for the execution of the culprits, and this accordingly took place.<sup>2</sup> We hear of no punishment inflicted upon the Vice-Chancellor; a fact which more than anything else shows the utter weakness of King Sigismund; we can hardly believe that this was the man who carried through the Union of Lublin in 1569, when Poland rose to the highest pinnacle she ever reached.

The next Nuncio from Rome, Commendoni, was able to thwart the schemes of Archbishop Uchanski, the probable Cranmer of the Polish Reformation. Thus the Italian averted a Synod proposed in 1563, an Assembly which was to represent all religious parties. At Trent no Pole exercised influence akin to that wielded by Ferdinand,

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, i. 214, 215.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 304.

Philip, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. The decrees of the Council were accepted by the Polish clergy but not by the Diet, even in the most servile age. Commendoni speedily gained great influence over the weak mind of King Sigismund, who was much given to women; and Uchanski now found that it was not his interest to separate from Rome. We have a description of the Nuncio's journey through Poland; he made acquaintance at Lemberg with the Armenian Archbishop, whose flock usually spoke Turkish; the ignorance of the Greek clergy left their people an easy prey to heretics; the Jews were not despised, as in other lands, but might carry swords and become wealthy. Commendoni suggested that the Poles should build a town at the mouth of the Dniester, and so trade with Venice, by leave of the Turk; but engineering difficulties became a bar to this scheme. Even the heretics admired Commendoni, who showed himself such a warm friend to their country.<sup>1</sup>

Not only the King but the Diet listened to his harangues, which are still extant. The Nuncio, anxious to prevent the Royal divorce, carefully watched Polish politics; he disapproved of Sigismund's new policy of elevating the lower House, the envoys of the Provinces, in order to degrade the Senate. Some of the Senators at this time even took their seats in the lower House, that they might enjoy more power. The Nuncio charged the Polish deputies with bringing in novelties in politics as well as in religion. He compared them to the Tribunes of Rome, who were at first a bulwark against tyrants, and then became tyrants themselves.<sup>2</sup>

We must now refer to one of the main causes that wrecked the Reformation on the Vistula. Many Italians had already given much trouble to Calvin by their Socinian doctrine.<sup>3</sup> They were not tolerated in Western Europe, so sought refuge in Poland and Transylvania. They broached their new ideas at Pinczow, while Lutherans, Calvinists, and

<sup>1</sup> *Vie du Commendon*, 202, 214. At Lemberg there were Latin, Greek, and Armenian Prelates, all three.—Connor, *History of Poland*, i. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Commendon*, 232, 248, 471.

<sup>3</sup> He talks of their "rarum acumen."

Bohemian Brethren alike testified against the new heresy.<sup>1</sup> Uchanski procured an ordinance expelling the Socinians, and Hosius reproached the Archbishop for not expelling all the other Protestants as well. The great Roman champion saw his own diocese, West Prussia, overrun with Lutheran heresy, which was now legalised. It was the same with Livonia, annexed to Poland in 1561; here the clergy had themselves embraced the new doctrines. The Protestants were allowed to build a church and school at Cracow, and another church was set up at Posen by the help of the great nobles. In 1555 the Calvinists and Bohemian Brethren united, though each sect kept its own church discipline.

The two chief causes of the downfall of Protestantism in Poland were the influence of the Socinians and the craft of the Jesuits. The works of Servetus were read by many in Poland, and one of the Socini visited the country in 1551. The great propagator of new opinions was Gonesius, who maintained that there were three distinct Gods, and denied infant baptism; he was supported by the powerful Starost of Samogitia. At Pinczow it was held that Christ was no true God, and that the Holy Ghost had not a divine nature. The Italian Blandrata had to leave Geneva for his opinions, and then published his Socinian ideas both in Poland and Transylvania. Calvin urged the Polish believers not to trust this deceitful man.<sup>2</sup> The heretic's vacant place was filled by Pauli, who broached even worse notions, and became prominent at the renowned Academy of Racow, known unfavourably all over Christendom. In 1565 the Socinian Church was thoroughly constituted. Calvin's Polish brigade, headed by Italian mutineers, gave him more trouble than all the rest of his army. We cannot wonder at the horror felt by Roman Catholics when they were told that the Saviour of the world was a mere man, about on a level with Socrates, and a little higher than Mahomet.

The Polish Protestants were anything but united among

<sup>1</sup> Lubienietzki in his *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ*, p. 197, tells us that an atrocious sentence was passed against his Socinian brethren in 1566, "auctoribus Proceribus Evangelicis, et hos instigantibus Ministris."

<sup>2</sup> He addresses him as "detestabile monstrum."



themselves. The Lutherans bore no love to Laski, having already abroad done him a great wrong; they denounced the Bohemian Brethren as heretical. The firebrand Flacius Illyricus strove to keep alive old subjects of dispute, sending a special emissary to Poland with the latest German theories.

The year 1569 saw the union of Poland and Lithuania effected; on that occasion King Sigismund seemed to give his sanction to Protestantism by attending, with all his Court, the funeral of a renowned Protestant nobleman. Next year the famous Synod of Sandomir was held, which was composed of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren, but excluded Socinians. Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and Samogitia, all contributed to the great end, religious peace and union. The doctrine of Zuinglius on the Eucharist was rejected, and a solemn pledge to maintain concord was given; all Popish rites were to be abolished by degrees. The agreement was signed by many of the highest men of the land. In the same year some of the Polish Protestants, when on an embassy to Moscow, explained their doctrines to Ivan the Terrible, but did not succeed in converting him.

The other side was now about to bring forward its best disciplined battalion, hitherto held in reserve. Cardinal Hosius, born at Cracow, had studied in Italy, where he became most friendly with Reginald Pole, and had afterwards been made Bishop of Warmia in Western Prussia. Never was there a greater enemy to the Reformation. He was one of the Papal Legates at the later sittings of the Council of Trent. His vast learning did not preserve him from various superstitions; thus he would lash his body till the blood came.<sup>1</sup> He was to inflict a grievous wound upon his country. Never had there been such loving brotherhood between the Greek and Latin Churches as at

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, i. 400. My own acquaintance with Hosius is limited to a book of his written in 1557, and translated into French four years later, *Des Sectes et heresies de nostre temps*. Here he forestalls Bossuet, showing up by turns the Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Socinians; he dwells much upon Melancthon's changes of opinion. In p. 167 he gives some curious instances of fanaticism.

this time under Polish sway. But now all was to be changed.

The Jesuits had long before sent Canisius, a great man among them, to report upon Poland. He could only bemoan King Sigismund's weakness. In 1564 Hosius brought in a colony of the brethren, who settled in the Western towns, much to the disgust of the Protestants. The King's sister, a future Queen, became their patroness; and the Primate Uchanski, who had been earlier suspected of heresy, strove to wipe out the past by fostering the new Order, upon which the Bishops of Poland depended far more than upon their own clergy. Here in future was to be Loyola's fattest pasture-ground. In Italy the Jesuits often found an enemy in the Pope; in Spain they were sometimes checked by the Inquisition; in France they were repeatedly confronted by the legal body, the redoubted Parliament; in Austria-Hungary they could never wholly break down the resistance of more than a million of Protestants. But in luckless Poland they were to have it all their own way for two hundred years; Greeks, Protestants, Moderate Romanists alike had to bow before Loyola's evil brood. So strong was their influence that they were able to corrupt the Polish tongue, which had already seen its best days.

But the Jesuits had to await the death of Sigismund Augustus in 1572 before they could get fairly to work. The debauched old King left behind him no son, for Comendoni, who was once more Legate in Poland, had prevented him from treading in the steps of our burly Tudor as regards marriage. Never was any nation so fearfully injured by the failure of a dynasty as Poland was now. Russia in like case a few years later righted herself after some years of civil war; but the year 1572 was the beginning of sorrows to Poland.

We must cast a glance at the country in the last days of its real greatness, when she made her union with Lithuania, appointing Warsaw as the common seat of future Diets, when the Polish tongue was thoroughly well cultivated, without foreign admixture, and when it ousted the old Russian that had hitherto prevailed in Lithuania; when



the towns drove a vast trade and the Eastern forests were falling before the axe. True it was that Poland lay open to her foes on all sides, but she had an old saw that fortresses were the bridle of freedom. Her provinces were widely different: Mazovia was most docile to Rome; the Ukraine set an example to the Russian provinces, being even fanatical in its love for the Greek Church: Prussia and Livonia were sturdily Protestant. Warsaw, Kiew, Dantzic, represented three different forms of Christianity. In Lithuania the infamous tax on marriage, paid to the Lord, was still exacted, as the mournful peasants' songs, not yet forgotten, bear witness.<sup>1</sup> But one part of Lithuania had a happier lot: in Samogitia nearly all the peasants were free; their taxes were carefully adjusted by statute; in 1551 they asked the Diet that they might enjoy their old right of hunting in the forests.<sup>2</sup> Paganism would hardly slacken its grip upon this province: only thirty-four Latin churches were found here at the Reformation; most of the people went back to idolatry instead of adopting Calvinism. The sacred fire in honour of the old God Peroun was now rekindled, sacrifices were once more offered, and the oak was worshipped. The Latin monastic Orders did not arrive in Samogitia until about 1650.<sup>3</sup> The superstition of the peasants was described not fifty years later by a keen observer: they might profess Christianity, but they kept adders in their houses, and thought that great mischief would befall if these beasts came to any harm.<sup>4</sup>

Cardinal Commendon, bent on electing a Catholic King, took advantage of the Interregnum and stirred up a party of his own in Lithuania, demanding that the King in future should give up his old right to nominate Prelates.<sup>5</sup> The Protestant cause was damaged, as usual, by the fatal civil war between Lutherans and Calvinists. John Firley, the

<sup>1</sup> See Lelewel, *Histoire*, 117, 124, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel, *Considérations*, 241.

<sup>3</sup> See Tolstoy, *Romanisme en Russie*, i. 289, 296. This book should be read as a counterpoise to Dom Guépin: Greek must be balanced against Latin by impartial Protestants.

<sup>4</sup> Connor, *History of Poland*, i. 292.

<sup>5</sup> Krasinski, ii. 3.

Grand Marshal of Poland, belonged to the latter sect; the Zborowskis and others followed Luther, and thus became an easy prey to the Cardinal's wiles. The great aim was to choose an Austrian Archduke for the vacant throne, but the good Emperor, Maximilian II., refused to gain that object by violence and treason.

A Diet was held at Warsaw early in 1573, where the clergy were brought to frame an Act of Toleration and to grant equal privileges to all Dissidents; but besides this there was an infamous article, which gave the landowners power over all their subjects, even in matters of religion.<sup>1</sup> The effect of this was to estrange the most numerous class of society from the Reformation. Ever since 1494 their condition had been changing for the worse; indeed it may be said that they were better off under the Peasants' King in 1360 than in 1760; a deterioration most unusual in the history of Europe. In Lithuania the peasants at this time might be sold like cattle. In other parts some of the Bishops were accused by their clergy of robbing the serfs of all their property, and of claiming to rid themselves of a peasant when useless. "Your mouths are full of freedom," wrote Modrzewski, "while a man's life lies at his master's mercy. If nobles kill a peasant, they say that they have killed a dog." Many a Protestant Synod appealed to the charity of the nobles, while the Latin pulpits on their side thundered against oppression. One Dissident Synod, held at Posen in 1560, decreed that peasants should not be bound to work for their masters more than three days a week, and ordered the nobles to do justice without extortion. Another Synod, held at Cracow in 1573, forbids work and cartage on holy days; it bids the nobles treat the peasant as they themselves would wish to be handled. Mazovia was distinguished as the province where of old most humanity was shown to the hapless earth-tiller; but she was fast falling to the common level. Masters might now outrage a female slave, impose any doctrine they chose upon the serf, and keep him bound to the soil. Old statutes, enacted in favour of the peasantry, were now set

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 11.

aside.<sup>1</sup> With these things before our eyes, we are not much moved by the raptures of foreigners over Poland. Choisinin declares that this nation surpasses in civility and courtesy all others; that a single nobleman could bring a hundred men into the field; that strangers were better received in Poland than anywhere else; that wines of all sorts were placed on the board; that there had been only one rebellion in the land within the last five hundred years; that there were more gentlemen in Poland than there were in France, England, and Spain; that of these gentlemen Mazovia alone boasted thirty thousand; that Poland was the staunchest bulwark of the whole Christian world.<sup>2</sup> She was indeed at this particular time the second Power in Christendom.

Commendonin induced the clergy to change their minds as regarded the late Act of Toleration, which they called impious, and which Hosius and Skarga fiercely attacked. Krasinski of Cracow was the only Bishop who would sign it, and he forthwith earned the enmity of Rome by his patriotism. The Diet for the election to the Crown was held in Mazovia, not far from Warsaw. This province, abounding in lesser nobility, had always held out against the Reformation; hence her chief city, in the evil times now at hand, came to rise above Cracow and Wilna. Mazovia should be lovingly regarded by all sound Ultramontanes as the Polish counterpart to Tyrol and Brittany.

The Austrian candidate lost ground, for many Bohemians, visitors to their sister Poland, mourned in public over the loss of their old liberties under the Hapsburg sway. France had put forward her King's brother, and Coligny had strained all his influence in Poland to effect this election. He drew up the instructions for Bishop Montluc, the French Envoy, but was murdered soon afterwards in the St. Bartholomew. This bloody event, it might have been thought, would have debarred any son of Queen Catherine

<sup>1</sup> For all this see Lelewel, *Considérations sur l'état politique de la Pologne*, 160-168.

<sup>2</sup> Choisinin went with Bishop Montluc to the Polish election in 1573. His account is printed in Buchon's *Chronicles of the 16th Century*, 677.

from the Crown ; but Montluc, scattering his money broadcast, was able to set his candidate on the Polish throne. Here perhaps we see the first token of coming ruin ; another presage was the conduct of the great Zamoyiski, though he seems to have been the finest pattern of the old Polish noble, a patriot and warrior, brimful of learning, anything but a bigot. He insisted that the election should not be made by the Senate and the Nuncios, but by the whole body of the nobility, comprising scores of thousands. Here Mazovia, the scene of the election, had an unhappy advantage. But the Protestants resolved upon solid guarantees for their own religious freedom, and upon ample compensation for their suffering French brethren.

The new King Henry was ready to promise anything, and Hosius was equally ready with evil advice, affirming that an oath given to heretics may be broken even without an absolution ; Herod's famous precedent must be shunned. Early in 1574 the French Prince arrived in Cracow, and had to take the obnoxious oath of toleration before he was allowed to be crowned, Pirley crying out, " If you will not swear, you shall not reign." Within a few months the throne was again vacant through Henry's flight. In 1575 there was a new election, and Stephen Bathory, the Duke of Transylvania, was chosen. Here the evil fortune of Poland was once more conspicuous ; the proposed King had been a devout follower of the Pope in the midst of Transylvanian heretics ; he had been wont to ride to Mass in the thick forests, under pretence of hunting.<sup>1</sup>

King Stephen's reign is perhaps the most glorious in the annals of Poland, and his victories over Russia are well known. He was an exception to the usual run of Polish Kings ; no country has ever had such a long continuance of weak or mischievous rulers. It is strange to contrast them with our Wessex Kings for six generations after the year 800, or with the great Turkish Sultans for nearly

<sup>1</sup> I take this from *Possevin's Moscovia*, 344. I prefer the Jesuit's statement (he was a great friend of King Stephen's) to Krasinski's account, ii. 47 ; the latter declares that Stephen was a Protestant, and that he was got at by the Roman Catholics after being chosen King of Poland.



three hundred years, or with the Princes of the house of Orange. A wearisome task lay before Stephen. The envoys of Rome describe how even the smallest towns and castles were tainted with heresy; how the Polish nobles fined their vassals if they did not go to the Protestant Church; how religion was treated as an indifferent matter; how dangerous were the German settlers, but still more the Italians. Many of the Latin clergy received no stipend, for the nobles had seized the goods of the Church, and refused to pay tithes. The chief Senators declared that they would rather be cut in pieces than yield this impost. The very name of the Pope was hated; it was hopeless to think of the Inquisition; the King was the one man who could be reckoned on. One victory Bolognetto the Nuncio was able to achieve. Queen Elizabeth of England had asked that her subjects might be allowed to trade throughout Poland with free toleration of their religion, offering equal privileges to the Poles. The Nuncio declared this a monstrous thing, and induced King Stephen to make no mention of religion in the proposed treaty. Even in this exceptional reign dissensions, to the eye of a foreign observer, seemed to be universal.<sup>1</sup>

Under the foreign Monarch, wise man though he might be, the Jesuit schools and colleges spread all over the land; and he laid the foundation of their chief seat, the University of Wilna, amid a vast Protestant and Greek population. So early as 1574 the system of stirring up mobs against the heretics in towns began to prevail, though as yet these outrages were followed by punishment. Cracow and Wilna were both disgraced by these evil deeds, which King Stephen did his best to check. But he oppressed the Lutherans of Livonia; he ordered a church in Riga to be taken from them and to be given to the Jesuits. Riots broke out in the city, riots partly provoked by the introduction of the new Gregorian Kalendar.

Meanwhile, under the noble Firley, the various Protestant churches sought to maintain their union; they

<sup>1</sup> See the Relation of Cardinal Bolognetto's doings in Poland in Ranko, *History of the Popes*, iii. 250.

even exhorted the German Princes to follow the good example of Poland. "We form," said the Poles, "one body, and one host against the Arians and Papists." These Reformers allowed men either to stand or kneel at the Eucharist, but never to sit; no markets or fairs were to be held on the Sunday. But the Lutherans, at the instigation of Flacius Illyricus, were now beginning to attack their brethren and the Union of Sandomir; it was better, so they said, to join the Jesuits than the Bohemians. Many Protestants, disgusted at this folly, began to return to the old Church.

Rome was recovering her energies; the Bishops even threatened on one occasion to put into execution the fatal *Liberum Veto*, whereby one man could break the deliberations of thousands; this was the first time that this mischievous measure had been hinted at.<sup>1</sup> One Bishop, who forsook his brethren on this occasion, was hailed as the saviour of his country. King Stephen (after all he was a Transylvanian) had given a good lesson to these Bishops, and indeed to all men. When urged to persecute the Dissidents, he had answered, "I reign over persons; it is God who rules the conscience. God has reserved three things to himself: the creation of something out of nothing, the knowledge of the future, and the government of the conscience." What miseries would have been spared to Christendom had the Pope and all other theologians lent an ear to these simple truths!

This great King's successor was now to be chosen. Unhappily the men of the leading Protestant house hated Zamoyski so bitterly that they joined the Papal Legate against him when the election took place in 1587. The Poles made a most unlucky choice, fixing upon the nephew of the last of the Jagellons, Sigismund Vasa of Sweden, to whom more than to any other man Poland owes her downfall. He was to reign for forty-five years, and to prove himself a worthy counterpart to Philip II. and Ferdinand II., though he trusted more to secret corruption than to open violence. The King had in his power the bestowal

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 88.

of the high offices of State, and these he would give to none but to the men of his own creed. In France Protestants often filled the highest posts; in Poland henceforth they were debarred from nearly every office. Strange has been the lot of two cousins, sprung from the great house of Vasa; one is revered throughout the world as the Lion of the North, the bulwark of the Protestant faith when at its last gasp; the other became the evil genius of Poland. Her King henceforward seemed to be powerless for good; but assuredly he was mighty for evil, as he faced the many thousands of his subjects, the lesser nobles, who combined in a most ingenious way all the faults of Aristocracy with all those of Democracy.

The best of Polish Kings was succeeded by the worst. In 1591 a mob, led on by the Jesuits, burnt the Protestant church of Cracow; the victims durst not rebuild it, but transferred their worship to a neighbouring village, thus following the French fashion. King Sigismund winked at these riots, inflicting no punishment on the aggressors, who now and then caused much loss of life. He took away churches at Thorn and Dantzic from the German Lutherans, thus preparing them for Prussian sovereignty two hundred years later. Skarga, the most eloquent of all Polish preachers, justified the riots; God had acted through the rioters for the salvation of souls; all who approved of religious freedom were blasphemers.

The Polish Protestants were by no means united among themselves; the Lutherans seemed always to be ashamed of the Sandomir Agreement. In 1595 a great Synod was held by the Dissidents at Thorn, attended by scores of ministers and nobles. The members of the Greek Church sent messages offering their assistance; King Sigismund strove in vain to break up the Assembly. Prince Ostrogski, one of the greatest of Polish nobles, himself a member of the Greek Church, forwarded a letter objecting to the use of the word Catholic assumed by the Latins, whereas it belonged to the Greeks. He boasted that he could bring fifteen thousand men to the help of the Protestants, spoke of the Pope as Antichrist, and objected to the new almanac,



the Gregorian Kalendar. A refractory Lutheran preacher was excommunicated. Forty complaints against the persecuting Jesuits were read; these came from various parts of the land. The Sandomir Agreement was enforced upon all, and Socinian teaching was discouraged.<sup>1</sup>

We catch a glimpse of the great Socinus himself in 1594; he describes in a letter the dangers of the Cracow streets. A man on horseback, who had ten or twelve followers, ordered the mighty heretic to be seized, shouting that an Arian, the seducer of the complainant's father, was not worthy to live. The persecutor ordered his men to stop the mouth of Socinus with mud and to roll him in the dirt; the crowd of bystanders durst say nothing. At last the victim was let go, after being obliged to beg mercy on his knees. Four years later he was dragged from his bed half naked, and his furniture was pillaged; he had to mourn the loss of his manuscripts; henceforth he was obliged to live at a place nine miles from Cracow. For his sect Transylvania was a safer abode than Poland.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1595 was memorable for a novel event, which drove more than one nail into hapless Poland's coffin. In 1439 some of the Greeks had agreed at Florence to a union with the Latins. Cardinal Isidore, representing this party, had won over the Greek churches of Ruthenia to the Papacy; but he had met with a rough reception at Moscow. Hence there arose a great difference between the Uniates of Poland and the non-Uniates of Russia; the former kept their old Slavonic rites and their married clergy, while acknowledging the Pope as their head. But about 1500 the Uniates began to throw off the Papal yoke; a Moscovite becoming Queen of Poland much promoted this change of Ruthenian opinion. The Eastern nobles welcomed Protestantism when it appeared, and the Greek clergy, mere slaves of the nobles, were too ignorant to combat it; here

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Toulmin, *Memoirs of Socinus*, 10, 148. The inscription on his tomb was—

*Tota jacet Babylon, destruxit tecta Lutherus,  
Muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus.*

even the Latin Bishops made a very poor fight.<sup>1</sup> In one Palatinate, according to Skarga, out of six hundred noble houses of the Greek rite there were only sixteen that had not become Protestant. The peasants clung to their old Greek faith, while the nobles pillaged the goods of the Church. The Kings of Poland put up these Eastern bishoprics and monasteries to sale; priests and monks were held to ransom. The family of Balaban, which held one See for fifty years, made itself peculiarly infamous for simony, cruelty, and pillage; it held out against both Rome and Constantinople alike. If any protest was ever made, it came from the laity. It was said that the yoke of the Moscovite Czar or the Turkish Sultan was lighter than that of the Polish nobleman, who had no scruples as to chastising a disobedient priest. The hapless clergy toiled in the fields to earn a pittance, handing down their benefices from father to son; all study was out of the question. The Latin priests scorned to learn Ruthenian, and were held in suspicion as heretics throughout Eastern Poland; one of their chief sins was that they shaved their beards.<sup>2</sup>

Prince Ostrogski was the first who strove to raise this down-trodden Church from the dust. He was the greatest subject in Poland, and had two thousand gentlemen in his pay; he could drive back the Tartar invaders single-handed. To him belongs much of the credit for the union of Lublin. He was a main prop of the Greek Church, and was patron of no fewer than six hundred benefices and of many monasteries. He sent for professors from Greece and Germany, and founded an academy in his town of Ostrog; also a printing press, where he hoped to print the Slavonian Bible. He had been a trusted agent of the great King Stephen. Other laymen sought to rival him, especially the wealthy Brotherhoods of Wilna and Leopold, where workmen and merchants debated on the scandals of the Church; to these societies were granted episcopal powers. They pre-

<sup>1</sup> In Polish a Ruthenian Bishop was called *wladyka*; he was never called *biskup* like the Latin Prelates.

<sup>2</sup> I take this sketch from Dom Guépin's *Saint Josaphat, Archevêque de Polock*, cxiv., a valuable work which should be read by all interested in Poland.

vailed through many towns in Ruthenia, and were vehement in the cause of Constantinople.

Terlecki, the Greek Bishop of Luck, had been cruelly oppressed by a Latin Starost; the victim knew that he could hope for no justice unless he should find strong protectors.<sup>1</sup> He therefore resolved to go over to the Pope, and induced many of his episcopal brethren to do the same. The hand of the Jesuit Possevin is plainly to be seen throughout this disastrous affair. King Sigismund III. of course leapt at the chance of increasing the Pope's authority, and was unhappily here supported by the great Zamoyski. The Bishops made it their chief end to keep the proposed union with Rome a secret from both their clergy and the laity. Early in 1595 Terlecki had arranged all with the authorities at Cracow; and in June a few of the Bishops held a Synod at Brzesc, making as little stir as possible. Terlecki and another Bishop, Pociey, were sent later in the year, at the King's cost, to Rome, where, kneeling before Pope Clement VIII., they renounced the errors of the Greek Church.

Ostrogski, aided by the famous Cyril Lucar, at once denounced the false shepherds who had betrayed their Orthodox flocks, and had resorted to an underhand juggle. Some of the Greek Bishops drew back from the new Union, but it was published at Brzesc. All Ruthenia was divided; Volhynia and the Ukraine followed their great Prince; but many of the nobles went over to the Latin rite. The main prop of the new system was Pociey, who soon became Archbishop of Kiev. He affirmed that he did but continue the teaching of Isidore, and that his opponents were mere schismatics, having no right to any privileges. He stood almost alone, with hardly any seminaries at his disposal.<sup>2</sup>

In 1599 an Assembly was held at Wilna which aimed at the union of the Greek Church with the Protestants,

<sup>1</sup> See Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*, 313.

<sup>2</sup> What would have been thought in England, about 1687, had Bishops like Parker and Cartwright been allowed to represent the whole Anglican Church, clergy and laity alike, in some hole-and-corner agreement with Rome? Henry VIII., in Ireland, carried out a somewhat similar policy.

both temporally and spiritually, a most visionary scheme. Prince Ostrogski opened the debate with a speech in Russian, boding ill to the cause of the Latin Antichrist. The two parties agreed upon the Trinity, the marriage of the clergy, the grant of the Cup to the laity, and Purgatory. They confederated on behalf of their privileges as Polish citizens. "A great number," they declared, "of our convents have been laid waste; the Roman clergy have seized on some of our churches; our ministers are persecuted, robbed, and murdered; in their stead appear ministers false to the Patriarch of Constantinople, men who declare the offspring of marriages performed in our way to be illegitimate. We are excluded from the Senate and the high offices. The great Tolerating Act of 1573 is denounced as illegal by the Romanist clergy; the people are roused against us by sermons. We, professing the Greek and Protestant religions, insist on the observance of the law of the land." Some of the highest nobles in Poland were chosen to act as protectors of the old Polish liberties, now assailed by the Jesuits.<sup>1</sup> The year 1600, we see, was most different from 1573, thanks to the new foreign noxious influence, which was to bear bitter fruit in 1648.

Zamoyski, the head of the Moderate Roman Catholics, in vain supported the new demands in the Diet, but he died too early in 1605; we gather from the works of the French De Thou and the Hungarian Isthuanfius some idea of the bright reputation enjoyed abroad by the great Polish patriot. Henceforward Sigismund III. could work his will unchecked. The noblemen and the King stand before us as the representatives of Moderatism and Ultramontanism. Zamoyski had fortified his town of Zamosc, and had then founded a University, whence he carefully excluded the Jesuits. But it must be allowed that some of his political measures bore evil fruit. We have the speech pronounced by him before the King in the Diet of 1605. He denounced the support given to the Russian impostor, and the fatal project of

<sup>1</sup> For a long list of these names see Krasinski, ii. 157. The German Protestants had made many overtures to Constantinople from 1551 downwards.

bringing in an Austrian Queen against the will of the nation. "We may have to imitate our forefathers and choose another King in your Majesty's room." At this Sigismund was so irritated that he drew his sword. Zamoyski cried, "We are the electors of kings, the destroyers of tyrants. Reign, but be not a despot."<sup>1</sup>

The Polish patriots were soon afterwards driven to form a Rokosz or confederation; their leader was a Moderate Roman Catholic, the bosom friend of the deceased Zamoyski. Prince Ostrogski would take no prominent part in the business, and thus caused the failure of the Protestant scheme. In 1607 Sigismund and the Diet offered various securities, but the rival factions, coming to blows, fought a battle at Guzow; two of the greatest of all Polish commanders led the wings of Sigismund's army. The Protestants were defeated, and never again tried their luck in the field. An amnesty followed, and two years later the securities granted in 1607 were confirmed, much against the will of the clergy.

But persecution went on a main; riots might be organised if the law could not be successfully worked. The Jesuits were always stirring up their pupils and the mob to attack the Protestants in the great towns, not stopping short of murder. There was little hope of redress, and many rich merchants fled from Cracow to Thorn and Dantzic. The Scotch families, long settled in Poland, furnished many victims. In Posen churches were burnt twice over and ministers were murdered. The Jesuits preached and published pamphlets in praise of this zeal for God. A Socinian was put to death simply for refusing to take an oath in the name of the Trinity; Sigismund's wife was the authoress of this astounding crime.<sup>2</sup>

One of the effects of the pernicious fires lately kindled in the Ruthenian Church was the sharpening of the old enmity between Cracow and Moscow. The Poles in the Sixteenth century had waged war on their Eastern brethren with much humanity, if we consider certain provocations; but after 1600 there was a great

<sup>1</sup> Lelewel, *Histoire de Pologne*, 152.

<sup>2</sup> Krasinski, ii. 187.



change.<sup>1</sup> Russia had lately been forced to mourn the extinction of her old line of Czars; she then fell a prey to a succession of impostors and cut-throats. In 1604 a Pretender, who was a runaway monk, marched to Moscow at the head of some Polish troops, and was hailed as a Czar of the true old blood. He was soon afterwards murdered, but various knaves followed in his steps; one of them was backed by the renowned Sapieha and other Poles. King Sigismund acted with great perfidy throughout the whole business; Poles and Swedes were enlisted in support of rival Czars. The King invaded Russia on behalf of one whom he knew to be an impostor, and pretended (pupil of the Jesuits as he was) to guarantee the rights of the Greek Church. His great aim at first was to set his own son Ladislaus on the Russian throne; to this Prince the men of Moscow did homage. But Sigismund soon coveted that throne for himself. Hermogenes, the Patriarch of Moscow, who had proved himself a sound Russian patriot, was thrown into prison by the Poles and was starved to death. These foreigners mocked at everything accounted holy in Russia, and even brought their dogs into the churches. They and their German allies massacred seven thousand burghers of Moscow, and burnt down most of the holy city. Meanwhile Sigismund after a long siege had taken Smolensk, that old bone of contention between Russia and Poland. He was not ashamed to torture Chein, its bold defender. He then entered Warsaw in triumph, dragging after him one of the rival Czars.

Russia was now a scene of fearful civil broils. Her great nobles were sold to the foreigner; the Swedes were in Novogorod, the Poles in Moscow. The famine was sore in the land, and men ate human flesh. But Russia was saved by her own children, more especially by Minin, a butcher by trade, and by Pojarski, a nobleman. The monks called the people to arms on behalf of the Orthodox faith, and a fast of three days was ordained. A renowned Polish general was beaten in fair fight. His countrymen, blocked

<sup>1</sup> See the story in Hauteville's *Poland*, chapter iii., where King Stephen showed astonishing self-restraint.

up in the Kremlin, had to capitulate after eating the flesh of their brethren. King Sigismund came to relieve them, but came too late. Thus passed the terrible year 1612, and shortly afterwards the house of Romanoff was elected to the Russian throne. The Poles for long would hear of no Czar but Ladislaus. Sweden made peace with Russia in 1617, and one year later Poland also made a long truce, keeping Smolensk.<sup>1</sup> The events of these times are deeply engraven on the Russian heart; henceforward it was a duel to the death between the two great Slavonic nations; King Sigismund had played his wonted part as the author of all mischief. In 1618 his realm for the last time embraced at once Moldavia, Livonia, and Smolensk, as if defying alike Turkey, Sweden, and Russia.

In that year the Thirty Years' War broke out, and the King was easily persuaded to send troops in support of the cause of his beloved Jesuits. The soldiers sent were Cossacks, long trained in the Russian wars; they made themselves remarkable even in those ruthless times for their fiendish ravages in Hungary, Bohemia, and Southern Germany.<sup>2</sup> Spain, Austria, and Poland, firmly united, seemed to be now on the point of rooting out Protestantism altogether. But the Sultan, enraged at Sigismund's meddling in Hungary, struck in, took Moldavia in 1619, and inflicted terrible losses on the Poles. The King next had a war with the Swedes, and lost Livonia. Protestant Riga had long complained that she was compelled to harbour the Jesuits; she was therefore not very zealous on behalf of Poland. Prince Radziwill, who defended Livonia against the Swedes, was a strong Protestant; he was accordingly left without assistance from Warsaw.<sup>3</sup>

But Sigismund's long reign is chiefly remarkable for the blazing fires kindled within the Greek Church in the Polish dominions. The Diets of 1607 and 1609 had

<sup>1</sup> See Rambaud, *Histoire de la Russie*, 284-302.

<sup>2</sup> For a good description of the ruffianism of these men, even in Poland, see Lubienetzki, *Historia Reformationis Polonicæ*, 247-250.

<sup>3</sup> Krasinski, ii. 206. Sigismund's whole reign is a memorable example "how not to do it," except in the one point of fostering the Jesuits.



solemnly guaranteed her privileges; but these wise enactments were later set at naught by Sigismund and his Jesuit advisers. All that can be said for these men is that they were not quite so cruel in Poland as in Bohemia. We can see what the King of the Jesuits did for Poland. At his accession she was feared by all the neighbouring nations; her literature had seen its brightest days; she had given a fine example of toleration before Henry IV. had published his Edict of Nantes, at a time when the Pope's children had no happy lot in Amsterdam. But the Jesuits appeared, and soon overspread the land with their colleges; the education given by them in Poland was certainly worse than elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

After 1618 Poland began to lose her outlying provinces, such as Moldavia and Livonia. But worse than this was the fatal enmity that henceforth raged between Poland and Russia, enmity of which we have not yet seen the end. The persecution of the Protestants was not so disastrous as the split in the Greek Church effected by Sigismund. The easy-going Romanism of 1500 was far preferable, so far as Poland was concerned, to the fiery Romanism of 1600. The new system of the Jesuits in education was described about 1620 in a work by Brozek, a Roman Catholic priest; they were furious, and being unable to reach the author, they had his printer flogged and banished. This critic charges them with teaching children a most difficult grammar, to keep their pupils as long as possible at school, and thus to train them, especially if they be rich or clever, in the ways of Loyola. The brethren had a violent contest with the University of Cracow: here Ultramontane and Moderate Romanist were once more opposed. The Polish language was soon corrupted with Latin and barbarous phrases; all original genius seemed to have been quenched, and matters did not improve in this respect until near the First Partition. The Roman Catholic Bishop Piasecki sets before us the constant access of the Jesuits to King Sigismund's chamber; nothing could be done without their

<sup>1</sup> No Polish thinker ever praised the Jesuits for the education they gave him as Voltaire praised his old teachers in France.

favour; hence arose the Royal blunders in Russia, Sweden, and Livonia. No one might rebuke the Jesuits; it was they who conferred all honours.<sup>1</sup> Sigismund's statue may still be seen in Warsaw by the Poles of our day, who have good reason to groan at the bare mention of his name; under him Poland became the heaven of Jesuits, bigots, and courtiers, even as it had long been the hell of peasants.

The Armenians of Southern Poland were taken in hand about 1626. A man who was a secret votary of the Pope's was forced upon their congregation at Lespól. An Armenian document of the time says, "The Catholic clergy and police have brought in this cursed one. He even forbids the burial of our dead. He beats and imprisons the priests who remain steady to their faith; the authorities and the Jesuits uphold him. We have petitioned the King, but can get no redress. They use us as they used the Greek Church, which for more than twenty years could not obtain justice."<sup>2</sup>

We can gather some idea of the war, both spiritual and temporal, that raged in Eastern Poland from the life of one of the leading champions in that dismal fray. John Kuncewicz was born in Volhynia about 1580, the son of an honest merchant. Destined for trade, he was sent to Wilna, a city where every form of religion, even Islam, had its partisans; in some families the father might belong to one creed, the mother to another, the children to a third.<sup>3</sup> The lad shrank from the great Schismatic Brotherhood, all powerful at Wilna, and threw himself into the cause of the Union; the Pope must be the infallible head, whether the common rite of a country were Latin or Greek. On making his monastic profession the youth took the name of Josaphat. In 1608 he and Rutski, a man like-minded with himself, acted as the Reformers of a monastery. But nearly all Lithuania ranged itself at first on the opposite side. So high did party spirit run that Pociey, the aged Uniate

<sup>1</sup> See Piasecki's testimony in Latin, Krasinski, ii. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Tolstoy, *Romanism in Russia*, i. 378.

<sup>3</sup> *Saint Josaphat*, par Dom Guépin, p. 10. This is a book to be read by all interested in Poland.

Archbishop, had a narrow escape from being murdered. The great leader of the Greek Orthodox was Smotrycki; he published in 1610 his *Lamentation of the Ruthenian Church*, which had an astounding success; to this Skarga himself wrote an answer. Rutski was now Archbishop of Kiew; he and his friend preached the Union in that capital of the Orthodox. Josaphat in 1618 took charge of the See of Polock, one of the greatest cities in White Russia. The bitterest jealousy of the Latin rite was shown by the Eastern populace, "Our altar is to be bared, according to the Latin usage; we are to be forced to Romanise." But both Josaphat and the Pope himself were anxious to keep erect the Greek rite in Ruthenia, provided that the Union were upheld. The ignorance of the priests was most dense, as the new pastor found; those who would not submit to the Union were imprisoned or banished.<sup>1</sup> He could not bear a word to be spoken against the Jesuits, his most useful allies. He won his way in many places, but Mohylew rose against him; the Greek priests even put up prayers for the Sultan and the Patriarch of Constantinople. Sentence was given at Warsaw that all the churches and priests of the subject town must be handed over to the Uniate Archbishop; the burghers in vain offered him thirty thousand florins if he would leave the churches to the Greek schism. A tyrannical sentence like this was sure to breed evil results. In 1618 died the first martyr to the Union, a Basilian monk, drowned in the Dnieper by the Cossacks. Two years later Theophanes, the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, after a long stay at Moscow, came to Kiew. He was utilised by the great Brotherhoods of the Greek Church; he reproved the Cossacks for bearing arms against Moscow and Orthodoxy, and advised the extirpation of the damned Papists; he defied King Sigismund by ordaining for Ruthenia a Metropolitan and six Bishops in the name of the See of Constantinople; among these Prelates the eloquent Smotrycki was specially opposed to Josaphat. Sigismund proclaimed the new Bishops traitors, but could

<sup>1</sup> *Saint Josaphat*, par Dom Guépin, i. 235.

now do little against them, being hampered by the Turkish war. The Protestants in the Diet, all that were left, held out a hand to the Greeks. Many even of the Latin Bishops were hostile to the Union; they knew the fearful broils it had kindled throughout Ruthenia. But Rutski, by a vigorous speech, baffled every attack of the enemy. The Orthodox were soon saying, "We prefer the Sultan to a Catholic King." So stubborn were they at Polock, that when deprived by Josaphat of their own ministers, children were allowed to die without baptism, and the sick were left without the last sacraments.<sup>1</sup> In 1623 a conspiracy was planned against the Archbishop by the Orthodox at Vitebsk; he was slaughtered in his own palace by a furious mob. King Sigismund had allowed many murders of his Protestant subjects to go unpunished; but the case was very different now. A commission was sent down, which condemned to death eighteen of the burghers of Vitebsk; the city was deprived of all its privileges, the town hall was pulled down, and all the bells of the churches were broken. The dead martyr at once began to work miracles; he was canonised in 1867 by Pope Pius IX., much to the joy of the Poles and to the disgust of the Russians. St. Josaphat in Poland would have done better to have followed the methods afterwards pursued by Bedell in Ireland.

Sigismund III. died in 1632, and it was soon evident that his son Ladislaus would be elected King. All Poland seemed to be united in the plain of Wola, near Warsaw. As to the noble electors, the Catholics, numbering 15,000, were on the point of fighting the Protestants, who numbered 5000. The Cossacks sent deputies, who uttered loud complaints against the Union. Ladislaus, a man most different from his father, strove to satisfy those of the Greek religion; he put aside the agents of the Pope and proclaimed toleration; he recognised the new Greek hierarchy, and even endowed it; he established a Greek Bishop at Mohylew. A new Muscovite invasion hurried on the election of Ladislaus as King. There was a striking scene in the plain not far from Warsaw. The Primate, Archbishop

<sup>1</sup> *Saint Josaphat*, par Dom Guépin, ii. 46.



of Gnesen, in the midst of the Senate intoned the *Veni Creator* on horseback. Thousands of Polish nobles fell on their knees and joined in the hymn, while crowds of Protestants stood aloof. Then the voting went on, which ended before evening in the election of Ladislaus.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards there arose a squabble over the oath to be taken by the new King, the Primate protesting against the toleration of Dissenters. Pope Urban VIII. soon sent a letter denouncing the privileges just granted to the Greeks, and a Polish embassy to Rome could obtain no satisfaction on this point. A fierce struggle went on throughout Ruthenia for the possession of the various churches and monasteries. The Uniates were at a disadvantage, as they were very seldom supported by their haughty Latin brethren of Western Poland. In this country alone has Protestantism had any strong influence upon Greek Orthodoxy.<sup>2</sup> Thousands of Ruthenian gentlemen had become Protestants in the foregoing Century; their sons and grandsons had since, with true Slavonic levity, gone over to the Pope, but had at the same time preferred the Latin ritual to the old Greek worship of their fathers. The preference is not surprising when we consider how much more long and burdensome the Greek ceremonies are than the Latin. But in any case there was now a sharper religious cleavage than ever in nearly every part of the Republic; Lithuania, with its subject provinces, is the only country where the three great forms of Christendom have engaged in a kind of triangular duel. Men of family in Ruthenia had been first Greek, then Protestant, then Latin, all within the space of seventy years.

About this time the Protestants at Cracow and elsewhere were constantly assailed by Romanist mobs; even the bodies of the dead were pelted with stones. Students, well trained in the lore of Loyola, maintained that it was a duty to destroy heretics. The schools of the Jesuits were a seminary of persecution; Lublin distinguished itself by its fanaticism; the Protestant school at Wilna was sup-

<sup>1</sup> *Saint Josaphat*, par Dom Guépin, ii. 271.

<sup>2</sup> There was a very slight movement of this kind in Transylvania.

pressed. Bloodshed in the Diets was with difficulty avoided. A remarkable prophecy, to be fulfilled two hundred years later, was uttered by a nobleman of the Greek persuasion when a church was forcibly taken from his brethren: "God, who surely punishes every wickedness, will raise up a nation that will take a hundred churches for one."<sup>1</sup> In 1638 the Diet decreed the abolition of a college of European fame, the renowned Socinian institution at Racow, which had a thousand pupils; in this act the Protestants unhappily joined the Romanists.

In 1645 King Ladislaus, a most tolerant ruler, strove to effect a union between the jarring creeds of his country, and convoked a religious assembly at Thorn. A Bishop headed the Catholics, who were met by the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren; the well-known Comenius was one of the deputies. Thirty-six meetings were held, but the parties could not even listen to the confessions of faith set forth by their opponents. The Lutherans, as usual, assailed their brother Protestants. The upshot of the whole was that the religious enmities raging in Poland were rather embittered than softened down.<sup>2</sup>

Never was there a contrast greater than now in Poland between the wretchedness of the many and the luxury of the few; the nobles showed their wealth by building palaces at Warsaw, the new capital; how vast their riches were may be guessed from the accounts of the Polish embassies sent to Paris and Rome.<sup>3</sup> One resplendent proof of the

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 245. There is an account of this assembly in Dowding's *Life of Calixtus*, p. 260. This should be read by those who wish to know what Lutheran bigotry was.

<sup>3</sup> For a good picture of Poland at this time see Le Laboureur, who formed one of an embassy from France to Poland. He describes Sapieha coming to meet the new Queen at the head of 4000 mounted followers, mostly gentlemen; the riches and power of Dantzic, where only one church remained to the Pope; the superstition of Warsaw, where they flogged themselves for four days before Easter, thinking that they thus advanced their salvation; the misery of the peasantry, far worse off than that of the German boors. A lord might make his vassal die in torments; in Lithuania the peasants were treated worse than in Poland, and were forced to work on Sundays.



wealth of the Polish nobles was seen in the piles of gold, silver, and jewels to be found in the Convent of Czentocho, the Loretto of Poland, which boasted a picture of the Virgin by St. Luke. The high families thought it an honour to have given anything to this Sanctuary; it possessed broad acres, and kept in its pay three hundred soldiers, the best in the land.<sup>1</sup>

These proud nobles, the bulwark of Christendom, the men who drew their swords when the Gospel was read in church, might well think their power everlasting. But ere Ladislaus could breathe his last Poland was tottering to her fall, and the Cossacks of the Dnieper were the instruments of the coming disaster. They had hitherto been Poland's right arm; they had manfully fought for her against their own creed-brethren in Moscow and against the Turks; in return they had been endowed with many privileges. But under Sigismund III. their Greek creed had been assailed, and the Polish nobles had been allowed to convert many of these sturdy freemen into slaves. The Lord, who had gone back to Rome, strove to force his new religion upon his serfs; the Jesuits and Jews were grievous oppressors. There had already been more than one outbreak, and the Cossack leaders had been treacherously put to death. So in Ireland, rather earlier, the great rising of 1641 was caused by both a temporal and a spiritual grievance.

The baleful year 1648 came, and the rebellion broke out, the true date of Poland's ruin. Bogden Chmielnicki, who had private affronts of his own to avenge, unable to obtain justice for his wrongs, took the field at the head of fifty thousand Cossacks, lashed to madness by Polish oppression and by the harangues of the Greek clergy. They were

Paganism still lingered in Samogitia. The Bishops were too rich to be virtuous: they were the Turk's best allies, for they objected to be taxed in order to carry on wars. If Poland had infantry like her cavalry she would be invincible, but the infantry was levied abroad, in Germany and Hungary. Bishop Piasecki is highly praised. "We live better in disorder than in order," said the nobles; "we live for the present and not for the future; property may pass, but the nobility is everlasting." There are many stories here about the great Zamoyiski, who had been dead forty years.

<sup>1</sup> Connor, *History of Poland*, i. 244.

joined by a strong body of Tartar allies from the Crimea, and also by thousands of oppressed serfs in Ruthenia, who perpetrated barbarous cruelties on their Polish masters. It was a holy war; the leader demanded that all Jesuits and Jews should be banished from the Ukraine. Of all the Latin Orders the Dominicans suffered most; the Jesuit Bobola is the most renowned of the martyrs now slaughtered.<sup>1</sup> John Casimir, brother of Ladislaus, had been elected King; he had once been both a Jesuit and a Cardinal, but had been allowed to marry his brother's wife. He was the last heir-male of the renowned house of Vasa. Never was there a reign of nineteen years more full of unceasing disasters. The Romish party, supported by a letter from Pope Alexander VII., were able to defeat the wise project of giving an official seat in the Senate to the Archbishop of Kiew, the head of the Greeks. Jesuit-ridden Mazovia was opposed to the fiery and Orthodox Ukraine. The war overspread all Southern Poland; the Cossacks impartially massacred Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

In 1651 the hosts of the West and the East were brought fairly face to face. The Pope had sent to the Polish King a sword and helmet that had been blessed, and a golden Rose to the Queen. On the other hand, the Sultan had named Bogdan Prince of the Ukraine, and the Patriarch of Constantinople had sent the rebel a hallowed sabre and some holy relics, employing certain monks of Mount Athos as his envoys. There was a great battle, and the Cossacks were driven over the Dniester. Next year it was the turn of the Poles to undergo defeat.<sup>2</sup>

The rebels called their Moscovite brethren to their aid in 1654; these burnt down many of the towns of Lithuania, such as Wilna. The Czar, on taking Smolensk, gave to the fire all the Jews that would not be converted; he razed to the ground every church belonging to the Poles, and ordered other fanes to be built in their stead.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the West of Poland was ravaged by Charles Gustavus of Sweden, a mighty warrior, who invaded the land in 1655.

<sup>1</sup> Dom Guépin, ii. 384.

<sup>2</sup> Vaillant, *La Romanie*, ii. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Travels of Macarius*, i. 336.

His allies, the Brandenburgers and Transylvanians, came later to fasten on the Polish quarry. No such miseries had been known since the Mongol inroad four hundred years earlier. The civil wars in Europe had been almost ceaseless since 1562; first France, then Russia, then Germany, had suffered from this plague; Poland was to undergo the like disasters for a score of years, and then was to come Hungary's turn, down to 1711. The partition of the doomed land between its neighbours was now for the first time spoken of. She had no national infantry such as had overthrown the French and Austrian knights three hundred years earlier; her whole trust was in her cavalry, which was apt to become a broken reed, for her lancers were not sustained by cuirassiers. They were cut to pieces, as Montecuculi says,<sup>1</sup> by the Swedish King opening out his forces and then closing in upon the too daring enemy. The Polish horse, made up of nobles, might charge the Turks with success; it was of little avail against Swedes, Germans, or Russians, more especially towards the end of this century, when the bayonet replaced the pike in most Christian armies.

The enmity between the Greeks and Latins blazes out in the account of the travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, who visited his Cossack brethren in 1654, six years after the great outbreak. "Why do I pronounce the Poles accursed? Because they have shown themselves more debased and wicked than corrupt idolaters, by their cruel conduct to Christians, thinking to abolish the very name of Orthodox. God perpetuate the empire of the Turks for ever and ever! for they take their tax and enter into no account of religion, . . . whereas these accursed Poles were not content with taxes and tithes from Christ's brethren, though these men were willing to serve them; but they subjected them to the authority of tyrannical Jews, who did not even permit them to build churches, or leave them any priests that knew the mysteries of their faith; on the contrary, they ravished their wives and daughters if they exercised their religion away from home. When the

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, 226.

Almighty had seen their tyranny, He made them the laughing-stock of their enemies. O ye infidels! O ye monsters of impurity! O ye hearts of stone! what had the nuns and women done, what the infant children, that ye should murder them? A venerable old man has slain your princes and grandees, and has annihilated your heroes and valiant men.”<sup>1</sup> Six foreign nations, as already remarked, were now draining Poland’s life-blood; a still worse internal scourge was impending. The Swedes, trained in the Thirty Years’ War, showed ruthless cruelty in their treatment of the Catholic clergy. The Polish Protestants, accused of taking the side of the foreign heretic, suffered fearfully in consequence, though their fault had been shared by thousands of Catholics. Hitherto the Polish peasant had been steadily kept down by his masters. But so fanatical was religious rage at this time, that the priests, taken from the higher classes, hounded on the peasants against certain of the nobility; fire and sword were called into play against the hapless Socinians. We could hardly believe this fact, so opposed to all previous Polish ideas, if it were not set out at length by Lubienecius, who printed his Latin book on Poland in 1685.<sup>2</sup> The land now lost millions of citizens, either butchered or banished. There was a great flight to Silesia; England and Holland were called upon to succour with money their oppressed brethren. Cracow was bereft of many of her best citizens. A vast number of Protestant churches were destroyed at this time, and the Protestant cause never held up its head again in Poland. The Prussian towns alone were able to keep their creed.

King John Casimir in the midst of his mishaps had made two vows—one that he would save the peasants from oppression, the other that he would convert unbelievers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Travels of the Patriarch Macarius*, translated from the Arabic by Belfour, i. 165, 183. He speaks of the rulers of Poland as “priests of Jesus, or rather of the Devil.”

<sup>2</sup> See specially p. 291. There is afterwards a long description of the miseries of exile.

<sup>3</sup> I am pleased to call attention to one of the best advocates of the peasants, the foreign Jesuit Olizarovius. See his pleadings in Lelewel, *Considérations*, 245-247.



A Jesuit urged the Diet of 1658 to show its gratitude to God by driving out all Socinians. This was forthwith done by law; two years were granted to the victims for the purpose of settling their affairs. Yet in this very country Jews and Mahometans had always been tolerated; it used to be said that if a man had lost his religion, he would be sure to find it again in Poland.<sup>1</sup> Vast numbers of the Socinians joined their brethren in Transylvania; others went to Brandenburg and Holland. Thus Poland, by way of repairing her late heavy losses in war, got rid of some of her best citizens.<sup>2</sup>

Russia, as we saw, had taken the field in 1654, for the Cossacks declared that they must submit either to the Czar or to the Sultan; she pledged herself to uphold the old freedom of her new subjects, the victims of Polish madness. Smolensk was soon mastered, never to be given back; we here mark the moment when Russia began definitely to rise above her old rival. Soon the Russians, after fearful ravages in Lithuania, made terms with Poland, and helped her against the Swedes. In 1667 Poland made over by treaty Smolensk, the holy city of Kiew, and all the left bank of the Dnieper to the mighty Eastern foe, which was making giant strides. The Cossacks, now lost to Poland for ever, had much to undergo from their new master.

One of the worst of Polish misfortunes happened in 1652. The Diet was for the first time broken up by Sicinski, the Nuncio of Upita, who uttered the baleful word *veto*. This had been often threatened before, but was now first carried into effect. One man, as we see, could break the designs of thousands; never was so crazy a political system. The country was now racing towards its downfall.

The Uniates had furnished hundreds of martyrs to Rome; in the late wars their Cathedrals had been burnt and their priests slaughtered. "All hell has been armed against us," says one of their writers. There was some talk of making them adopt the Latin ritual, which they sturdily refused. Many Latin priests had become either heretics or

<sup>1</sup> Sandys gives this proverb in his *Europæ Speculum*, p. 224. This was written in 1599.

<sup>2</sup> Krasinski, vol. ii. 394.

schismatics to please the foreign enemies; some had taken wives. Many Latin Prelates had joined the Swedish party, but not one Uniate Prelate had failed in his duty to the Polish King, and not one Uniate monk had proved false.<sup>1</sup> The Uniates met with more gratitude at Rome than at Warsaw.

The great Sobieski was chosen King in 1674. I need not dwell here upon his best-known exploit, but shall only remark that he dealt a deadly blow to the one nation that was to come to the help of Poland in her worst agony, and that he saved from ruin one of the three vultures that was to devour her. As to his own land, his reign was rather flashy than solid. The French eye-witness, Dalerac, who was long in the King's service, sets before us the state of the realm in his day; we see the average commander of troops eating up the peasants on his road, enriching himself, avoiding the lands of the nobles, but quartering his troops upon the estates of the Crown or the Church; the Poles pushing their religion even to hypocrisy, yet exposing the property of the priests to the fury of the soldier. It is further remarked that the dragoons are half naked, mounted on sorry jades, that the infantry are in tatters, bearing long battle-axes, and doing their duty in war though half starved, while money and discipline are alike wanting; officers could not live without pillaging. The soldiers still made use of the bow and arrow, in the employment of which the King showed great skill. The Lithuanian troops were not to be depended upon, even when a fight was at hand. The servant men of this nation would skirmish with their Polish brethren at the Diets, fighting with clubs; they even took to firearms in 1690, when many lives were lost. Never was there such frenzied love of bloodshed and disunion.<sup>2</sup>

Sobieski was a great patron of the Uniate Church; 1691 was for it a year of glorious triumph; eleven years later not one Schismatic Bishop was left in Poland; even

<sup>1</sup> Guépin, ii. 403, 404.

<sup>2</sup> I have used the English translation of Dalerac, printed in 1700. See pp. 10, 22, 28, 30, 33.



in the Ukraine there were many conversions. The persecution of Protestants went on briskly; one of their nobles was denounced as an atheist for a trifle he had scribbled in private, was prosecuted by Bishops, had his tongue torn out, and was then burnt. Sobieski was horror-struck at the news of the judicial outrage, and even Pope Innocent XI. bitterly blamed this exhibition of Polish justice, where well-known laws were wantonly set aside.

After Sobieski's time the Crown became the prize for which foreigners struggled; three neighbouring nations were rising to greatness, thanks to Eugene, Peter, and Frederick, whose achievements differed somewhat from those of the Polish hero. Charles XII. and the Czar were soon fighting on Polish ground. The Swedish candidate for the throne was Stanislaus Leszczynski, who, himself a Catholic, came of a house that had been foremost for generations in the ranks of Polish Protestantism.<sup>1</sup> The anarchy of the nation, as we see in Addison's writings, had now become a byword in Europe. The field of Pultawa in 1709 was one of the great steps towards Poland's downfall: the Czar Peter was now able to set his candidate, Augustus of Saxony, on the Polish throne. In 1716 Peter, by means of Szeniawski, the traitorous Bishop of Cujavia, inserted in a treaty what may be called Poland's death-warrant: he limited her army for the future to eighteen thousand men, and at the same time consented to the enactment of harsh laws against the Dissidents. These projects alarmed even the Moderate Roman Catholics: Leduchowski, the great patriot of the day, was the last to stand up for the rights of men whose creed was not his; but Szeniawski contrived to thwart him. In other countries toleration was soon to make some progress: but in 1718 a priest was able to rouse the fanaticism of the Polish Diet against "the ravening wolves," and the one Protestant member was not allowed to speak or vote, even though his rights had up to this time been guaranteed by the law.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 412. It was one of this house that uttered the well-known saw, *Malo periculosam libertatem quam quietum servitium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 435-437.

The great Peter himself could do little for his creed-brethren in Poland. "Men's conscience," says he, "rests with God alone, and no sovereign has a right to proselytise by force." He even addressed the Pope in favour of tolerance. "The Ruthenian priests are imprisoned simply because they refuse to join the Union; they are bound and flogged; the Jesuits invade the convents and carry off the images venerated by the Greek people." The Pope pretended that this information was incorrect and incomplete; he ended by doing nothing. For forty years Moscow in vain entreated Warsaw for tolerance.<sup>1</sup>

In 1724 all Europe was shuddering at Polish bigotry. The Jesuits had long established one of their colleges in the Protestant town of Thorn, and had succeeded in banishing their ablest opponents. A riot broke out between the partisans of the two religions, owing to the Protestants not having paid sufficient respect to the Host when borne in procession. The Jesuit students, some hours later, assailed the crowd with stones; the crowd retaliated by sacking the college, and, as some say, by destroying holy images. Agents were sent all over Poland with flaming accounts of the late sacrilege; it was averred that the broken images had emitted blood. A special Commission, composed wholly of Roman Catholics, was sent down to inquire into the riots at Thorn. The inquiry was a mere mockery; the witnesses on one side were rejected, while no objection was made to the contradictory statements made on the other side. Hearsay evidence was admitted. All of the accused that consented to change their religion were at once set free. The affair was carried to Warsaw, where the High Court was swamped by the addition of forty new members, all under the thumb of the Jesuits. The defence of the Thorn burghers was not received; the President of the town was put to death merely for having been negligent; ten others were executed for having been leaders of the riot. A church and a college at Thorn were taken from the Protestants and handed over to their rivals; schools and printing were interfered with. The whole business

<sup>1</sup> Tolstoy, *Romanism in Russia*, i. 392-394.

shocked Europe; the Protestant States addressed sharp remonstrances to Poland, but in vain. Yet the very Diet which perpetrated these outrages at the instigation of the Jesuits stood firm against the Pope's interference with the National Church, and forbade the Polish clergy to accept any dignity from Rome. Often, and in many countries, have the Pope and the Jesuits been swayed by widely different interests; it is said that on this occasion the Pope's Legate strove to check the bloodthirsty Order. The memory of the Thorn butchery lingered long in Europe; it accounts for much of the apathy with which most States received the news of the First Partition of Poland, fifty years later.<sup>1</sup> A strange lot was that of the sober German burghers who dwelt at Dantzic and similar towns, yoked as they were to the car of Polish craziness in Church and State.

About the middle of this Century some of the higher class of Poles were pressing forward to a better state of things. Their old King, Stanislaus, far away in Lorraine, educated many of the Polish youth in the ideas of the West; his writings denounce the inhuman treatment of the peasantry. Konarski, an enlightened priest, attacked the Jesuits and the *Liberum veto*. The Czartoryskis, one of the greatest houses in the land, wished to effect a change in the rotten old Constitution, but thought that this could never be done without the help of Russia. Their kinsman Stanislaus Poniatowski, an old lover of the Messalina at St. Petersburg, was by her named King of Poland. On her the Polish Protestants (hard was their fate) were driven to lean, for persecution still went on, though the new King was a friend to toleration. One of their worst enemies was Soltyk, the Bishop of Cracow; he is said to have been a freethinker.<sup>2</sup> He was assuredly the leading agent in Poland's ruin. He harangued violently against the Dissidents in the Diet of 1766, and proposed that they should enjoy nothing but bare toleration.<sup>3</sup> This was at a

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 438-459. The Dreyfus case in France reminds us of the Thorn scandal.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 492.

<sup>3</sup> Soltyk's misdeeds are very plain in the *Correspondence of King Stanislaus with Madame Geoffrin*, 261, 370.

time when all Europe was slowly moving forward in the path of charity, when Rome herself had but lately lost a most tolerant Pope. Soltyk, moreover, denounced the Czartoryskis and their reforms, which would have saved the State.

Repnin, the Russian Ambassador, allied himself with Soltyk on this last question, and enlisted many Polish supporters; the Diet was storming against King Stanislas. Not only Russia, but Prussia, stepped in to the aid of the Dissidents. On the other side, the Nuncio of Pope Clement XIII. made an eloquent speech before the Diet, referring to the unhappy times of tolerant Sigismund Augustus, and coolly proposing to abolish throughout the land the religious worship of every confession except that of Rome. The Pope himself wrote to the Primate, advising him to restrict the freedom of religion still further.<sup>1</sup> Rome's influence in these latter times may be justly called debasing.

There was an uproarious scene in the Diet; the King had to fly, while voices were heard recommending his murder; the *Liberum veto* was once more restored. To the Dissidents were offered some paltry concessions, at once rejected. In 1767 Russia stirred up the Protestants and the Greek Bishop of Mohylew to insist on their full rights. Russian troops swarmed over the land; Repnin overpowered the Crown, and then suddenly turned against the nobles who had been his tools. The arrogant foreigner named Podoski Primate of Poland, a man who kept a mistress in his palace and was the King's bitter enemy.<sup>2</sup>

Soltyk was now robbed of his old part as the leader of the clergy, and his estates were ravaged by the order of Repnin. The Bishop changed his tactics and made advances, unhappily too late, to the Dissidents, inviting them to his table. Repnin forbade them to go, pretending that they would be poisoned. On the other side, a new Papal Nuncio required Soltyk and the other Bishops to undergo anything rather than make concessions to the Dissidents. A fresh insulting proposal, subjecting Poland to Russia, was brought before the Diet; Soltyk opposed this, but now spoke in

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 506.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 500.

favour of religious toleration. He was at once seized by Repnin's agents, and was borne off with three others into the interior of Russia. The Diet of 1768 was then forced to enact laws which sanctioned the old disorderly system, the ruin of the Polish Republic; the Dissidents were at last placed on a level with the Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

Happy would it have been for all parties could peace at this juncture have been prolonged; but early in 1768 the Confederation of Bar, organised by a Bishop, attacked the Russians; an event which led step by step to the First Partition. The Confederates made Religion and Freedom their watchword—names that in their mouths meant Persecution and Aristocratic privilege. The Empress Catherine called the Cossacks to arms against Poland, and all the horrors of 1648 were once more renewed.

Human was a town in the Ukraine with a flourishing school; the peasants in the neighbourhood were, as a rule, most mildly treated; but the Greek Bishop waged theological war on his Uniate brother. The population around now sprang to arms, and all who did not belong to the Greek faith were massacred. Often a gentleman, a priest, a Jew, and a dog were hung on the same gallows. Human was taken by treachery, and sixteen thousand of all ages were murdered. Some other towns underwent the same fate; it is computed that fifty thousand perished altogether. The evil laws that weighed so hard upon the peasantry bore, as we see, most evil fruit.<sup>2</sup> Besides these outrages the soldiers of the Russian army perpetrated infamous cruelties on their victims. They had an easy task; Dumouriez in his *Memoirs* draws a lively picture of the Asiatic morals, the luxury, the levity of the Polish chiefs whom he was sent to help; with the greatest reluctance they consented to arm their serfs. In 1769 the Turks came to the aid of Poland, but were beaten in the war that followed. In the

<sup>1</sup> Rulhière in his *L'Anarchie de Pologne*, iii. 68-79, shows us what stirring adventures might befall a Pole in these times.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel, *Considérations*, 301-306. Stanislaus, in his *Correspondence with Madame Geoffrin*, puts the whole thing in a nutshell, p. 345. "*C'est le fanatisme grec et serf qui combat le fer et la flamme à la main contre le fanatisme catholique et noble.*"



next year Prussia moved her troops towards the Vistula, and was followed by Austria. In 1772 all Polish resistance ceased.<sup>1</sup>

The First Partition was declared; the Russians acquired a part of Ruthenia where the old Greek ritual flourished; here great persecution of the Uniate Church went on; the nobles, who should have been her champions, had gone over to the Latin ritual. Prussia took a part of the land where the German blood and creed was well represented; unhappily, she did not acquire the much-coveted Dantzic, which remained in Polish hands to become a Naboth's vineyard in future times. Austria, unlike the two others, had no title whatever to her share of the booty except that of the vulgar thief. The common opinion in Western Europe appears to have been that a crack-brained Ultramontane State had made way for its betters; neither Voltaire nor Chatham seem to have believed that any great outrage had been done.

The next twenty years beheld great improvements in Poland, though the pitiful Stanislaus was still reigning. The Jesuits were abolished, the Papal Nuncios were silent, and the Protestants were no longer persecuted. The vast estates of the suppressed Order were utilised for public education. The finances were restored and commerce increased. Voices were raised on behalf of the down-trodden serfs. Many superstitious practices were abolished, sometimes by the priests themselves; the Piarists were especially distinguished as teachers. Art and Literature made great strides; the language was at last reformed. But too much of the old leaven still remained; the Zamoyski of the time had projected a code which improved the condition of Jews and peasants; this code was trampled under foot in the Diet of 1780, as leading to heresy and revolt.

Two years before this time we are enabled by the Rev. William Coxe to see the last of the old Poland, which now contained only 9,000,000, instead of the former 14,000,000.

<sup>1</sup> At this time Poland had eighteen millions of inhabitants; of these four millions were Greeks or Protestants; two millions were Jews or Mahometans.—Theiner, *Église Catholique en Pologne*, i. 88.



The Dissidents were still excluded from the Diet, the Senate, and the permanent Council, but were allowed to have churches without bells and schools of their own; they might now sit in the lower Courts of justice. The late dismemberment had taken away nearly half of Poland's yearly income, especially what arose from the salt mines in Gallicia and from the duties upon wares sent down the Vistula. There was a poll tax levied on the Jews, and a chimney tax which bore hard upon the peasants. The exportation of corn had greatly fallen off, and the breed of horses had been nearly ruined by the late wars. Ten thousand Russians still occupied the land.<sup>1</sup> It was confessed that a universal corruption reigned everywhere; many of the highest nobles received pensions from foreign Courts. The Court of the Pope's Nuncio was the supreme ecclesiastical Court, and Rome gained much money from applications for divorce and dispensation of marriages. A Pope's Bull, if sent into Poland, needed no confirmation by the civil power. The clergy were at last made amenable to taxation, but their taxes were called "charitable subsidies." Peasants were still forbidden to leave their villages; in 1768 a law was passed making the murder of a peasant a capital crime, yet this law was not easy to carry out. Zamoyski in 1760 enfranchised six villages, which forthwith increased in population and in revenue; he built steadings for the peasants, and they cheerfully paid a yearly rent; he went on to enfranchise their brethren on all his estates. Few of them were at first capable of managing a farm. Yet his successors might still restore the old state of things.<sup>2</sup>

It was not every Pole that had cause to mourn over the Partition. In 1784 a peasant, worried by Count Bielsky, fled with his family into the Austrian dominions. His lord, followed by many underlings, seized the runaway, threw him into a dungeon, and flogged him every day. The Emperor Joseph complained in vain to King Stanislaus of the outrage; a large party of Austrian soldiers were therefore sent to seize Bielsky and his victim; the Count was

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, *Travels into Poland*, i. 57, 110, 119. His computation of the population differs from that of Theiner.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 121, 125, 130.

condemned to set the peasant free, to pay him a thousand florins, and to hand over five times that sum to the outraged Austrian Government. He was kept in prison until payment was made, and his guilty underlings received each fifty lashes.<sup>1</sup>

Morality did not thrive on Polish soil. Nowhere else at this time were there so many divorces; nowhere else was the Church system so disregarded; Bishops in vain reproved the general depravity and the budding irreligion among the higher classes. Ladies might be met in society who had three or four husbands living. Marriages which had lasted for thirty years might be broken without the least regard being paid to the offspring. The members of episcopal consistories might be easily bribed to annul a marriage on some frivolous pretext. The Bishops dispensed with the publication of banns, and allowed stranger priests to officiate. In the small diocese of Minsk alone there were two or three hundred divorces every year. In the next Century the Russian Czar abolished the laws of the new French code as to civil marriage and divorce, though the Polish deputies clung to these enactments.<sup>2</sup>

The Diet that opened in 1488, called the Four Years' Diet, was happily inspired. The country, backed by Prussia and England, set about the reform of the old anarchical Constitution; Russia was entangled in a new Turkish war and could not interfere. The Polish Crown was made hereditary; representation was given to the cities; and plurality of votes replaced the poisonous old *Liberum veto*. Though the Catholic religion was that of the State, other worships were tolerated.<sup>3</sup> The great change was voted in 1791; anarchy was replaced by something like the English Constitution; Burke, Fox, and Mackintosh were loud in their

<sup>1</sup> Rioust, *Joseph II.* 189.

<sup>2</sup> Theiner, *L'Église Catholique en Pologne et en Russie*, i. 311-313. Theiner is confirmed by Wraxall. See also the *Memoirs of Marshal Oudinot*, who was long quartered at Wilna.

<sup>3</sup> All this is fully set out by Lelewel in his *Pologne sous Stanislaus-Auguste*. Oginski, in his *Memoirs*, i. 92, tells us how he was sent to England, and had a long interview with Pitt; the latter strongly advised the cession of Thorn and Dantzic to his Prussian ally.

applause. In 1768 Poland had been like a furious maniac, scourged by harsh gaolers; in 1791 she was sitting, clothed and in her right mind, reading in an English book. Never in all the history of mankind has there been a nobler effort to replace evil by good.

But Reform had been too long delayed; Poland was to find no place of repentance. The Empress Catherine signed her peace with Turkey early in 1792, and soon seduced the false-hearted King of Prussia from the side of the reforming Diet. In May she supported some renegade Poles (Pope Paul IV. would have called them "lost and damned souls"); these formed the Confederation of Targovica in order to restore the hateful old anarchy.<sup>1</sup> France was just entering upon her great revolutionary war; Russia therefore had it all her own way in the East. King Stanislaus could make no head against the Russians, and the Royal traitor soon went over to the Confederation of Targovica. There was not much fighting in 1792; the next year beheld the Second Partition; the Prussians turned their backs upon France in order to be partakers in the new infamy; it was averred as an excuse for their change of front that Jacobinism prevailed alike on the Seine and on the Vistula. The Polish army was to be reduced to fifteen thousand men—a most wise precaution on the part of the tyrants.

In 1794 war broke out in grim earnest; it was very different from the ill-combined skirmishes which preceded the First Partition; rampant Ultramontanism was now replaced by mild Tolerance; wide indeed is the difference between Bishop Soltyk and Kosciuszko, the leading spirits at two great crises. Warsaw soon rose upon its Russian garrison; the angry Poles hanged some traitors, among whom was the Bishop of Livonia. Rather later, the Bishop of Wilna and two Polish Princes underwent the same fate, the Warsaw mob acting as judge. Kosciuszko caused the ringleaders of this mob to be hanged themselves, and he saved another Bishop from death. The Prussians were driven to raise the siege of Warsaw, but treacherous Austria now in her turn invaded Poland. Many a field was fought,

<sup>1</sup> Felix Potocki and Branicki seem to have been the two arch-traitors.

but the great patriot leader was in the end borne off wounded from the last battle by his Russian conquerors. Suwarrow stormed Praga, where fifteen thousand perished. Among the Poles a Jewish regiment distinguished itself on that black day, November 5, 1794. We may also remark two Lithuanian regiments almost entirely officered by Protestant nobles of that realm; they died to the last man.<sup>1</sup> If the Protestants sinned in their sore need thirty years earlier by leaning too much on foreign aid, they now, it must be acknowledged, made a noble atonement; all must agree with this remark of the historian Krasinski.

The Third and last Partition followed in 1795; early in the next year the Austrians entered Cracow, while the Prussians seized Warsaw. On this occasion Russia took far more than her fellow-robbers, and King Stanislaus became her unwilling guest. Poland was now in the tomb; other European nations have been swallowed up by a single conqueror, but none has ever been divided between three foreign masters. The better part of the Polish youth went to take service with the French Republic; they fought against their old enemy Suwarrow in Italy, and were then sent by Napoleon, in spite of their protestations and resistance, to enslave the free blacks of San Domingo, where nearly all the Polish soldiers met their death.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile the Lithuanians found the yoke of the madman Paul far lighter than that of his depraved mother, the Empress Catherine. But fearful wrongs were perpetrated on the provinces by Russian officials. Thus Zoubov, one of Paul's murderers, was endowed with estates in Samogitia, in a part where the peasants were free. He at once imposed on them a harsh yoke; they took their cause, which lasted for many years, to the tribunals. The boldest champions were flogged or tortured to death; in 1807 Zoubov gained his cause and enslaved many hundred families.<sup>3</sup> Samogitia was an exceptional province in Poland, both as regards freedom and religion. Most Polish landowners, on becoming Protestant in the Jagellon days, bestowed no more thought on the

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 537.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel, *Pologne*, 242.

<sup>3</sup> Lelewel gives a long list of other outrages, *Histoire de Pologne*, 252.



conversion of their peasants than on that of their hogs; but in Samogitia the Radziwills converted several thousands of their peasants, and these still keep their new faith, and are far superior to their neighbours in morality and well-being.<sup>1</sup> The disgraceful neglect of the peasantry was one of the main causes of the ruin of the Polish Reformation; to the poor the Gospel was not preached.

It is anything but a pleasant task to bring the history of the dismembered land up to date. Nowhere is Napoleon's trickery and baseness more visible than in his dealings with Poland; her bravest sons shed their blood like water in foreign lands to further his selfish schemes, especially at Saragossa and Albuera. The kingdom of Poland, much diminished, was constituted in 1815; its King, the Czar Alexander, at first governed well, and showed sincere respect for the memory of Kosciuszko. But in 1818 he began to talk about withdrawing the Constitution he had granted. Books were suppressed and instruction was checked; the Czar's brother, Constantine, almost a maniac, was let loose upon Poland; the spy system was in full vigour. Lads under instruction, if they felt the fire of patriotism, were sent to Siberia or were made common soldiers.

The next Czar, Nicholas, had little love for the Polish Constitution, as he showed long before the Revolution which broke out at Warsaw late in 1830. Unhappily, the Dictator Chlopicki, an old soldier of Napoleon's, proved an utter failure. Early in 1831 a hundred thousand Russians attacked Warsaw in vain. Samogitia and other parts of Lithuania rose; here the peasantry bore a part in the struggle, though this was not the case in Volhynia and the Ukraine. The Polish patriots estranged the Jews, who swarmed in the land, by not giving them the full rights of citizenship. The clergy, both Latin and Uniate, proved themselves true sons of their country; the Greek clergy of the Ukraine and the South mostly took the side of the Czar. In the Polish Diet no great eagerness was shown to set about granting the freedom of the peasants. The disunion among the statesmen was fearful, and no Kosciuszko

<sup>1</sup> Krasinski, ii. 546.



came forward to tower over all rivals and to pick out the best soldiers for command. At last the Warsaw mob once more broke out and put to death many persons as traitors. Soon afterwards the city was taken by the Russians, when the Polish rising had lasted ten months. Such was the wretched incapacity shown by the insurgent generals, that no fewer than seventy thousand Poles were led into Prussia and Austria, were there disarmed, and then mostly handed over to their tyrant Nicholas. He used them up in his service, especially in the Caucasus; ever since 1618 Poles have been employed to crush free nations. One-tenth of the army alone was able to make its escape, to beg and starve in Western Europe.<sup>1</sup>

And now was to be seen the measure of comfort ministered by Rome to bleeding Poland, that old bulwark of the faith, so steadfast against Tartar Pagan and Turkish Mussulman, against Russian schismatic and Swedish heretic. The righteous soul of Lamennais, while he was residing in Rome, was vexed by the conduct of Gregory XVI. on this occasion. The Pope's official journal kept silence on the Polish struggle so long as the end was doubtful. When the Poles, after their defeat, began to undergo the vengeance of Nicholas, this same official journal broke out into hearty abuse of the beaten heroes. On the 9th of June 1832 Gregory directed a Brief to the Polish Bishops; herein he declared that the late calamities had arisen from the lies put about by men who had rebelled against their ruler under the pretext of religion; the provinces were now at last pacified and restored to legitimate authority; by the help of God quiet now reigned. The Bishops must be on the watch, lest revolutionists should mislead the people and put forth erroneous doctrines and false dogmas. This strange Brief, so opposed to the spirit-stirring words of freedom uttered of old by Alexander III. and Innocent IV., was the result of the discontent caused by the Papal system of government; if the Czar helped the Pope to put down rebels in Italy, the Pope must help the Czar in Poland. It was a

<sup>1</sup> For all this see Lelewel, the last part of his *History of Poland*. He was one of the Patriotic Government.

strange system of political log-rolling; it is unlikely to be ever repeated, owing to the loss of the Temporal power in 1870. The Brief, before being published, was sent to the Czar's minister, who struck out a Scriptural expression, "fight the battles of the Lord," and made other corrections.<sup>1</sup>

A fearful vengeance was taken by Nicholas for past Polish intolerance; all through Lithuania and Ruthenia Orthodox priests were at work converting in their own peculiar way the Pope's Uniate subjects to the national creed of Russia. Many, both of the resisting clergy and laity, were flogged or sent to Siberia. "Consciences are not forced," the Government declared; "we are simply bringing the people back to the religion of their forefathers, which they left through ignorance."<sup>2</sup> These luckless populations have indeed been the victims of a see-saw between Rome and Constantinople for the last 460 years. But we expect less brute force in an age of railways and telegraphs than in an age of Jesuits and *Pacta Conventa*.

In 1839 Nicholas, triumphing over the Uniates, struck a medal with the legend, "Separated by violence in 1596, reunited by love in 1839." What the methods of love were must be read in Theiner's account of these hideous times. The Pope had to bewail the apostasy of some Uniate Bishops.<sup>3</sup> His name was no longer allowed to be mentioned in the prayers of his Greek followers. One strange effect of all this persecution may be pointed out; the Ruthenian Uniates of the Chelm diocese went over in mass to the Latin ritual; they chose to abjure their ancestral Greek prayers, the heritage of almost nine hundred years, rather than to abjure the Pope.<sup>4</sup> Nicholas seems to have allowed this desertion; seldom has such a tribute been paid to the claims of the Papacy by large bodies of men. In 1845 the Czar was rebuked for his

<sup>1</sup> Lammenais, *Affaires de Rome*, 108, 109. The Brief is among the documents at the end of the book. I suppose that Cardinal Newman was thinking of this utterance when he called Gregory "a very Conservative Pope." It is indeed Conservatism with a vengeance.

<sup>2</sup> Theiner, *Église Catholique*, i. 242. His whole book should be read, with the documents at the end.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 230.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 247, 270.

cruelties by Gregory XVI. at Rome, the best act in this Pope's life.

Siberia was the lot of many a Pole who fought or plotted for his beloved country. In that gloomy land there were many degrees of punishment; the easiest seems to have been work in the Government distilleries; many men were sent to toil in the verdigris mines with irons on their feet, each only hoping that the mine might fall in and bring speedy death. The worst punishment of all was confinement in Akatouia, a name pronounced with awe unspeakable throughout Siberia. One specimen of Polish life in Asiatic banishment may suffice. Sierocinski was a Basilian monk who had taken an active part in the war of 1831, and who was therefore by the Czar enrolled as a private in a Cossack regiment which served against the Tartars. He was later made a Professor in the military school of Omsk. Here he planned a vast conspiracy, embracing Russians, Poles, and Tartars alike; the fortresses were to be seized, and in case of failure, the road to the South lay open. The plot was betrayed by three wretches at the moment when it was to take effect. Commission sat after Commission to probe the affair. About one thousand men were arrested, and were condemned in 1837 to flogging or to the penal settlements. The arch plotter and five of his chief accomplices were sentenced to receive each seven thousand lashes without mercy; so the Czar's own order ran. The lashes were inflicted by two battalions of soldiers, and the six victims died in turn under the punishment. Sierocinski, kept to the last, chanted a Latin Psalm as he marched along the ranks; he fell senseless after receiving one thousand blows; he was then laid on a tumbril; his groans could be heard until two thousand blows had been inflicted; the last three thousand lashes of his sentence fell upon a corpse. Nine years later a huge wooden crucifix still marked the graves of both Russians and Poles.<sup>1</sup>

Never was there a harder fate than this, that one nation, which seems in its government to copy Peking, should bear

<sup>1</sup> Pietrowski, *Story of a Siberian Exile*, published in 1863. He knew many of the actors in this tragedy. See 104, 110.

rule over another nation that since 1791 has wished to seek its model in Westminster. Caliban has his foot on Prospero's neck. Most eagerly were the events of the Crimean war followed in Poland; deep was the disappointment at the puny results. But it may be laid down that all hope of the restoration of Poland is an idle dream, unless Germany see fit to bear her part in the undertaking. She in 1792 upset the balance of power in Eastern Europe; it may be that in the future she may find cause to repent of her past folly. The new Czar, Alexander II., bade the Poles cherish no more illusions; that is, they must never expect a free Press and a free Parliament.

One mighty improvement in the Polish character has been effected of late years. The old accursed intolerance, the cause of the First Partition, is gone for ever. Clement XIII. would now find no partisans in Poland, were his old policy to be there preached. We see Protestant pastors and Jewish rabbis stand manfully by the side of the Latin priests when the nation is threatened. In 1859 the Poles in the Berlin Parliament raised their voices in favour of Italian freedom, and so drew down upon themselves the rebuke of Montalembert, who was a far less consistent lover of liberty than they were. Thoughtful men who marked the very different attitude of the Poles and the Irish on the Italian question, have wished that Poland and Ireland could change places for a few years. Sweet are the uses of adversity.

The Poles unluckily saw the Neapolitan King's army fall to pieces when assailed by a great popular leader: they dreamt that the Russian army would act in the same way. Hence came the ill-judged rising of 1863, against the wish of Count Zamoyski, a patriot worthy of his forefather, the statesman of 1600. We can well remember the fearful punishment that befell the Poles when their bold attempt had been quenched in blood. An attempt was made by the Russian Government to abolish the Polish tongue: fathers and mothers were forbidden to teach it to their children. Some tyrants of old have banished whole populations from their homes: none until the enlightened year 1864 have waged war on any mother tongue.

Leaving this sad subject to the pens of others, I can here give space to only a short tale, which links our own age to the past. Austria, having for some months winked at the rising of the Poles, in the end turned against her fellow-believers; we must remember that this was the former Austria of the Concordat and of Despotism. The Polish refugees who had crossed the Austrian border were forthwith handed over to their Russian oppressor. Some of these victims were at once seized by the eager Cossacks, flung down on the ground, and savagely flogged before beginning the journey to Siberia.<sup>1</sup> The year 1648 has left behind it bitter and abiding memories. At this moment the old bulwark of Christendom seems to lie dismantled, bereft of all human aid. All other nations of Europe to the West of the Vistula look forward to a glorious future; Poland alone sees little to hope for. The reforms in the national character of late years cannot altogether wipe out the ugly past. Many a Polish patriot, chained to a barrow in some Siberian mine, must within the last seventy years have heartily cursed King Sigismund III., the Jesuits, and the *Liberum veto*.

Was there ever seen a greater contrast between any two countries than that between Poland and England as they stood in 1795 and in 1863? The reason is plain; Poland of old took the Jesuits to her bosom, England stamped them under her heel. We may contrast the utter indifference, or worse, of Austria and other lands to the Polish cause with the eager rush of every Protestant country in Europe to the help of England in the time of her sore need in 1688.<sup>2</sup> But Poland's martyrdom has not been undergone in vain; her death is likely to be the life of many a revived State to the South of the Danube. Some bounds, as all men see, must be set to the encroachments of overgrown Russia.

Let not this dismal chapter of history be closed without

<sup>1</sup> I remember reading this in an English newspaper while the struggle was still going on.

<sup>2</sup> In a noble passage Lord Macaulay has set before us the march of our foreign deliverers into Exeter.



some kindly thought of that State where alone Jews have always met with toleration, and where the Greek and Latin Churches dwell together like sisters throughout almost the whole of the stormy Sixteenth century. After that time there came a change, and an evil influence led the way to the most widespread ruin known in the records of Modern Europe—a ruin far surpassing in extent the somewhat similar disasters of Ireland and Bohemia, since the fall was from a loftier pinnacle.

## CHAPTER II

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY <sup>1</sup>

Union of nations—Tolerance . . .	1526–1598
Intolerance and Civil Wars . . .	1598–1711
Further extension of Empire . . .	1711–1848
Civil Wars and Despotism . . .	1848–1867
Freedom coupled with Disunion . . .	1867–1902

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY differs from all the other nations of Europe in this—that she consists of half a dozen different nationalities, not very unequal in number. Strange was the fate that linked Hungary, first with Bohemia in 1490, afterwards with South-Eastern Germany in 1526, a union whence a mighty Empire was to spring. The Magyars of Hungary, one of the few races in Europe that cannot claim Arian descent, had been Christendom's chief bulwark against the Turk while lording it over various subject nations; the Czechs of Bohemia, the disciples of Huss, had drawn upon themselves the eyes of all Europe in the Fifteenth century; the Germans of the Danube had for long furnished a domain to the various branches of the House of Hapsburg, that almost seemed to boast an hereditary claim to the Holy Roman Empire.

Ferdinand I., the younger brother of Charles V., became Lord of the Austrian duchies in 1521, and five years later he succeeded his wife's brother, the hapless Jagellon King, who had fallen fighting against the Turks at Mohacz.

<sup>1</sup> I use Leger's *History of Austria-Hungary*, supplementing it from many other sources, such as Coxe's *House of Austria*.

Ferdinand was thus entitled to rule, if he could, at Vienna, Prague, and Buda, all three.

Two men made the new King's task a hard one; these were Sultan Solymán and Luther. The Turk, proud of his late victory, set up John Szapolya, the head of a most powerful Magyar house, against Ferdinand. Rich Hungary, which yearly sent eighty thousand fat oxen to Vienna to be distributed through Germany; Hungary, which produced so much game that the poorest might take his share in it, was now to be trodden down by the Mussulmans.<sup>1</sup> They came so far as Vienna in 1529, but besieged it in vain. Soon there were three distinct Hungaries: the Western and Northern parts, a very narrow strip, ruled by Ferdinand; the Central part, governed by a Turkish Pasha at Buda; and the Eastern part, taking in Transylvania, swayed by a Christian, a vassal of the Sultan's. This state of things lasted until near 1700; luckless Hungary was doomed for many a year to be crushed between the Janissary and the Jesuit, the upper and nether millstone. The balance between the rival powers, the Turk, the German, and the Magyar, was at first upheld by Martinuzzi, a shifty Croat priest, who was later made a Cardinal. He was murdered by some soldiers in Ferdinand's pay, a crime for which absolution had to be sought from Rome by the Prince who profited by the foul deed. In 1562 the German Monarch was forced to recognise the right of the Turks to their conquests, and to become their tributary.

Meanwhile Luther had been convulsing Europe with his new doctrines. There had been no more sound religion in Hungary than in other lands: here were reckoned no fewer than one hundred and forty places where the Virgin's image wrought miracles.<sup>2</sup> The covetousness and immorality of the clergy was most glaring; yet both of the rival Kings of Hungary, persecutors alike, lent their aid to the old Church. A Protestant pastor and a schoolmaster were

<sup>1</sup> See the Elzevir volume on *Hungary*, p. 43, published in 1634.

<sup>2</sup> Here I follow the *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, based upon authentic documents: to this Merle d'Aubigné wrote a preface. See p. 26 of this work, which comes down to 1849, and has supplied me with many facts.

burnt in 1527. But the most savage edicts did little to check the Reformation. Many of the nobles joined the new movement, and possessed themselves of the revenues of the Prelates. The Magyar tongue had hitherto been little cultivated. But it soon received new life from the Reformation; in 1533 came out the first printed book in the language, a translation of St. Paul's epistles. Both the Reformers and their enemies made full use of the vulgar tongue as a handmaid to religion.<sup>1</sup>

Transylvania had long been divided between three most distinct races: the Saxons from the North-West, who had for Centuries been settled there as colonists; the Szeklers, a freedom-loving people akin to the Magyars; and the down-trodden Wallach votaries of the Greek Church, who were given to cattle-stealing, and had little regard for law.<sup>2</sup> These last were of so little account, though most numerous, that they were never reckoned among the three estates of the land, the Magyar nobles, the Szeklers, and the Saxons. The old Kings treated the Wallachs not as men but as things, handing them over in masses to alien lords. The year 1434 seems like a foretaste of 1849; the serfs have joined the Turk invader; therefore they must be slaughtered, and none but women and children spared. The Bishop and nobles robbed them of all rights; two or three bloody risings were the upshot, and these first led to the union of the Three Estates in 1437. It is not wonderful that the brutalised Wallachs would have nothing to do with the Reformation when it came, though Luther's Catechism and

<sup>1</sup> Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 181.

<sup>2</sup> See the Elzevir volume on *Hungary*, p. 11. The early history of the Wallachs must be sought in Vaillant's book *La Romanie*. See especially i. 125, 128, 130, 159, 218. The Catholic Bishop of Hermanstadt about 1200 alarmed the Orthodox by his encroachments and drove many of them to the South and East. Those who remained uttered loud outcries in 1228. Six years later Pope Gregory IX. bade the King of Hungary root out the Schismatics, who, it seems, had been joined by some Germans and Magyars; they received the sacraments from sham Bishops. Raynaldus sets out Gregory's Bull in the year 1234. In 1365 another King of Hungary handed over the Greek bishoprics in the Banat to Latin prelates, granted the right of nobility to Orthodox who abjured, and reduced to serfdom Orthodox who were obstinate. In 1450 we find much abuse of the *Papistasi* (subjects of the Pope).

the Gospels were translated for the benefit of these Orthodox Christians.<sup>1</sup> Protestantism has had no lasting influence upon the Greek Church except in Ruthenia, and there only upon the upper classes for a time.<sup>2</sup>

Bishop George, the head of the Orthodox in Transylvania, did indeed embrace Protestantism in 1566, and was followed by the nobles among his flock. But the priests and the people clung to their old faith, whatever worldly disadvantages it might entail. They placed themselves under the Archbishop of neighbouring Wallachia, and since these times that Primate has entitled himself Archbishop Metropolitan of the Hungarian Wallachs.<sup>3</sup>

Hermannstadt, the Saxon capital of Transylvania, abjured Rome altogether so early as 1529; in the next year the Saxon belief was settled by the publication of the Augsburg Confession. The burghers, like true Germans, held fast to Luther; their great preacher was John Honterus, who appeared a few years later. Soon they had to withstand both Calvinism and Socinianism. The faith of Rome all but died out in the land; the estates of the last Bishop, Bornemissa, were confiscated in 1556.<sup>4</sup> The Saxons embraced Lutheranism, the Szeklers leant to Calvinism; the former put their trust in firearms, the latter in bows and arrows. Both promoted education and the printing-press, and we hear of paper mills being set up.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile in Hungary the leading Magyar Reformer was Matthew Devay, who had often eaten at Luther's table; he was persecuted alike by King Ferdinand and King John, but he travelled through the land preaching, and he also wrote in Hungarian. Public discussions were held under the authority of Ferdinand, who was by degrees becoming more tolerant. The Bishops in vain thundered against the preacher, who declared the Mass to be the invention of the Devil. Persecution seemed to be a failure in Hungary, since there was no unity of action, such as there was in France or Spain.

<sup>1</sup> See Teutsch, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, i. 47, 152, 154-156, 335.

<sup>2</sup> The Stundist movement, I believe, is due to native Russians and not to foreign teachers.

<sup>3</sup> Vaillant, *La Romanie*, i. 318.

<sup>4</sup> Teutsch, i. 336.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 51, 57, 73.



Peace was made between the two rival Kings in 1538, but peace was not preserved among the rising Protestants. In the next year Luther was harassed by the Hungarian disciples of Zwingli; the great Devay himself went over to the Swiss party. Ere long we hear of Anabaptists and Arians in the land. King Ferdinand hoped that the Council of Trent would change all and bring back sore-needed unity; his envoys were instructed to ask for many concessions in the direction of Protestantism.

The new doctrines thrived in Turkish Hungary; here the peasants, differing from their Polish brethren, were as forward as the nobles. A Romanist gave a large bribe to a Pasha, requesting him to banish the Protestants; the Turk inquired into the matter, and gave orders that the doctrines "which Luther had discovered" should be freely preached.<sup>1</sup> But Mussulman rule is to Christians a hard yoke. Those who disobeyed the Pasha were freely threatened with the stake; youths were carried off for enrolment in the army; taxes were levied at haphazard.<sup>2</sup> Busbecq, in his well-known letters, mourns over the waggon-loads of Hungarian boys and girls that he saw on the way to the slave market in Constantinople. The fall in succession of Buda, of Temesvar, and of Erlau marks the Northward steps of the Turkish conqueror, who fleeced the country and wrung from it excessive taxes. The population by degrees waned away, and the rich soil became barren. At the same time the Turkish despot had enlightened views as to religious toleration. Thus, in Funfkirchen there was a church that was shared between the Catholics and the heretics. One of the latter snatched the Host from the priest (a favourite outrage of this Century) and trampled it underfoot. The Turkish governor at once ordered the culprit to be punished.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Protestant Church of Hungary*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Leger, *Austro-Hungary*, 321.

<sup>3</sup> Raynaldi, *Annales*, tom. xxxiv. 543. Cardinal Hosius told this story to King Sigismund II. of Poland, who had allowed the Host to be similarly insulted. A Turk had shown more zeal for the Host than a Christian King had done.

Turk has left his word *korbacs* (a whip) to the Magyar tongue, a legacy full of meaning.<sup>1</sup>

In 1553 Ferdinand held the Diet of Eödenberg, where the Reformers, getting the upper hand, refused to allow the printing-presses to be hampered. The neighbouring city of Guns declared for the Reformation as one man. Nobles and Bishops were joining the Protestant creed, and Melanchthon took a deep interest in its progress through Hungary. After Zapolya's death Transylvania was cruelly oppressed by Ferdinand's foreign troops, many of whom were Spaniards; the country appointed Petrovich as her ruler; and this nobleman, a Zuinglian, drove out the priests of Rome, changed the monasteries into schools, and handed over all Church property to the State. In 1556 only two monasteries remained. The great natural fortress of Transylvania for the next 150 years seemed like a wedge of civilisation driven into the midst of Wallachian and Turkish barbarism. In a short time the Protestants throughout Hungary were as thirty to one; nearly all the nobles were at this time on the side of the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> The Palatines, representing the Crown, were often Protestants.

In 1561 the Jesuits appeared in the land, and it was time that they should. They could have but small hopes of the conversion of the fiery Szeklers of Transylvania (called *Siculi* by the Latin chroniclers), the men who had an old custom resembling the Fiery Cross of the Gael, for in a great crisis a bloody sword was sent round to every village as a threat that all who did not rise in arms should be slain. These men were compared to the Swiss and the Tartars; they were all alike votaries of equality. They could turn out twenty-four thousand fighting men within a few days.<sup>3</sup> Further to the North-West at this time, in Erlau, all the nobles, citizens, and soldiers bound themselves by oath never to forsake the truth; their covenant was also

<sup>1</sup> Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 162. This is the *kourbash* from which Britain has redeemed Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 73.

<sup>3</sup> Istvanfius, 124, 136, 412. He, being an official, deals far too gently with the persecutions about 1600, which went on under his eyes.

signed by the men of Debreczin, a town known afterwards as the Rome of the Calvinists. Meanwhile Ferdinand had become far milder in his old age; he had in vain striven to obtain concessions from the Council of Trent; Dudith, his Episcopal ambassador to that famous assembly, branded it as a gathering of puppets set in motion by a distant hand; with such a meeting the Holy Ghost had nothing to do; it was all simply a scheme to aggrandise Rome. Pius IV., however, in 1564 empowered the Hungarian Primate to administer the communion in both kinds. Such a concession, had it been granted by Rome to the Bohemians in the last Century, would have saved seas of Christian blood. Ferdinand struck a medal in honour of the grant, and received himself in both kinds. The Jesuits most unwillingly obeyed the Pope.<sup>1</sup> This act must have drawn the German nearer to some of his trustiest soldiers, the Slavonian emigrants of the South, who could never forgive the Turk his outrages.<sup>2</sup> Long afterwards they served the Hapsburgs in the Thirty Years' War against the Swedes.<sup>3</sup> The contrast between the Slavonian and the Magyar was already most glaring.

In the year 1564 Ferdinand died, after having ruled Hungary for thirty-eight years—a Prince who upon the whole leant to toleration, at least in his dealings with Hungary. His son Maximilian, who succeeded, seemed to be half a Protestant. He had already established a printing-press in Croatia, a land which has rivalled Ireland in her championship of Rome; the New Testament was now printed in the Croat tongue.<sup>4</sup> The Emperor's great general, Schwendi, did his best for the Reformation. Calvinism, since it was no product of hated Germany, took deep root among the Magyars of the Theiss, who looked upon it as their own peculiar creed, while the Lutheran doctrine prevailed among the Slovacks, the Slavonians of the North, and the Saxon towns of the East.<sup>5</sup> Blandrata had also

<sup>1</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 81.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 77.

<sup>5</sup> The proverb says, "Calvinista hit, Magyar hit." One half of the Slovacks are still Lutherans.—Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 76.

made his appearance, and had taught Socinianism; his chief convert was the son of John Zapolya, a youth who swayed Transylvania under the title of Prince, and who died in 1571, the last of his line. Isthuanfius, the Hungarian chronicler who takes the Hapsburg side (he was an official of the Crown), mourns over the Arian creed of the young chief so early cut off, and has no doubt as to his future state.<sup>1</sup> At one Transylvanian Synod the doctrine of the Trinity was openly denied. Meanwhile, throughout Hungary a root of bitterness might be detected; Lutherans and Calvinists were at open war, of course giving great advantage to the common enemy.<sup>2</sup>

King Maximilian died in 1576, and in his stead reigned his son Rudolf, a pupil of the Spanish King Philip. Everything changed for the worse; preachers in Hungary were put down. The Jesuits fell to work with such vigour, that in 1588 Prince Sigismund Bathory, who now ruled in Transylvania, banished them from that land. The Protestants were driven to hold their Synods in the Turkish part of the kingdom; for here toleration was best understood. Geneva and Wittenberg kept up their deadly war in Hungary, as in Germany and Poland; and this war was fiercest about the time of the desolating Turkish inroad that began in 1591. Some of the greatest Hungarian Reformers are claimed by both of the rival sects. About 1590 there were nine hundred churches in the land, belonging to the Lutherans alone; the Calvinists had probably more. Bigotry waxed fiercer and fiercer; twenty-five Hungarian students were driven out of the University of Wittenberg because they denied the doctrine of Ubiquity.<sup>3</sup>

The house of Bathory has given to the world a noble king and some unworthy princes. One of these, Sigismund, carried over Transylvania from the side of Turkey to that of Austria in 1595. The unstable man, completely under the

<sup>1</sup> Isthuanfii, *Historia de rebus Hungaricis*, edition of 1758, 268, 319.

<sup>2</sup> In our day the former are called "Evangelicals," or "Protestants"; the Calvinists call themselves "Reformed."—Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 107.

influence of the Jesuits, went on to transfer his dominions to the Kaiser, and after striving to regain them more than once, subsided into utter insignificance. The world saw the hand of the Jesuits in the whole business. For the last forty years, under her own rulers, Transylvania had been a pattern (not quite perfect) to all the world in the matter of religious toleration; in this noble path she forestalled the Poles, the French, and the Dutch alike. In this remote corner of Europe, Protestantism taught her weightiest lesson. Four religions were here recognised: the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Unitarian; on a lower level stood the Wallachs, the men of the Greek creed, which was just tolerated and no more; these peasants were, as a general rule, forbidden to bear arms.<sup>1</sup> Their disabilities were due to race hatred, not to religion. Neither Calvin nor the Pope would have approved the state of things in Transylvania.

All toleration was now to be strangled in its cradle by the Emperor's arms; he made George Basta his general in Transylvania, and poured in hosts of Walloons and Italians, men who hated the name of Protestantism and treated Transylvania as a conquered prey. Basta was a rival of Alva in cruelty; he burnt and flayed the obnoxious clergy; and he robbed the land for his own benefit.<sup>2</sup> The natural result was an awful famine, when mothers were known to kill and eat their own children; the Turk was more merciful in his sway than the Jesuit. The policy of Vienna, for more than a hundred years, seems to have aimed at driving all Protestants into the Sultan's arms, and this was already remarked by the great Henry IV.

Stephen Botskai, one of the greatest nobles in Upper Hungary, went to Prague to lay the wretched state of the land before the strange being who called himself King of Hungary. The proud aristocrat was not allowed to see Rudolph, and was made the target for the gibes of

<sup>1</sup> Teutsch, *Siebenbürger Sachsen*, i. 338. This last folk, *war, wie seine Kirche, überall nur tolerirt (geduldet)*.

<sup>2</sup> Even Isthuanfius does not deny Basta's cruelties, though a veil is drawn over many of Rudolf's misdeeds. See also Teutsch, *Siebenbürger*, ii. 110, 116.



courtiers. On returning home he found his estates plundered; he forthwith called the Hungarians to arms, and took Kaschau. He received from the Sultan a club, a sabre, and standard, but declined the Turkish offer of a crown. Rudolph soon lost almost the whole of Hungary, and for this he had to thank the Jesuits and their policy; little help was to be expected from oppressed Austria and Bohemia; remote Spain was his only hope. In 1606 he was forced to make the peace of Vienna with Botskai, to the joy of both Catholics and Protestants.<sup>1</sup>

This peace gave freedom of conscience to every Hungarian, and regulated the right to the churches; the Emperor's brother, Matthias, a far more reasonable man than the crazy Cæsar, was made governor of Hungary, and the Jesuits were forbidden to hold real property in that realm. The Pope, as was natural, protested against the peace. Prince Esterhazy, one of the best of Moderate Catholics, a great supporter of schools, was elected Palatine, and upheld the rights of Protestants to the utmost of his power. He was a main agent in setting the crown of Hungary on the head of Matthias in the stead of the crazy Rudolph. In the Diet the Hungarian clergy protested against toleration, but the lay nobles chose the better part. These last should have done more; they should have laid the axe, as in other Calvinistic lands, to the root of the Episcopal system; but in this respect Hungary never rose to the level of Transylvania.

In 1609 Thurzo, a Protestant, was elected to the high office of Palatine. He asserted the claims of his religion in the Synod of Sillein, claims against which the Cardinal Archbishop furiously protested. The laws of Trent had not yet been carried out on the Danube by Rome; we know from the decrees of one of her Synods that some of her clergy in Hungary were still married men; the cup was still given to the laity.<sup>2</sup> But Rome was now burnish-

<sup>1</sup> There is a curious Italian state paper, written perhaps by Cardinal Klesl, and sent to the Pope, describing this hateful peace; *non solamente dall' Heretici ma ancora da Cattolici principati del Regno sono stati essi statuti difesi*.—*Acta Historiam Gabrielis Bethlen illustrantia*, 513.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 129.

ing her arms; the mighty Reaction was setting in. There was one gleam of hope in the South for the old creed. Croatia resembled Ireland in her fast allegiance to the Pope, and in the valiant levies she supplied to the cause of the Jesuits, levies that Schiller, in his great Trilogv, has taken care to bring before our eyes. The Croats, we are told, were of a coarse and superstitious temperament, and were in complete subjection to the Latin priest. They declared that they would sooner separate from Hungary than have their country invaded by that abominable pest called Lutheranism.<sup>1</sup> But Croatia, Dalmatia, and the neighbouring provinces were bereft of breviaries or missals of the Trent pattern, as there was no printing-press that possessed Illyrian types. Rather later, Carafa, the Nuncio of Vienna, obtained an old press of this character from the Emperor and sent it to Rome, where it was doubtless turned to good account.<sup>2</sup> It is strange that Carniola, which is as Slavonic as her neighbour Croatia, should have clung to Lutheranism, holding out for many years against the persecutions of her bigoted lord.

The most redoubted leader of the Reaction on the Danube was the Jesuit Pazmany, who afterwards became a Cardinal and Primate of Hungary. In 1613 he published his great work, *The Guide to Truth*, which defended Rome; her unity might well be contrasted with the wretched wrangles on the other side. The book, written in the national tongue, had an amazing success; many Protestant nobles were brought over by its eloquence, and at once set about converting to their new creed the peasants of the district. The upper class in Hungary showed much of the levity and inconstancy that marked their brethren in Poland, and, to a far less degree, in France.

The history of the next ninety years is one long record of the oppression practised on Hungarian Protestants, especially in the destruction of their churches. One

<sup>1</sup> Fessler, quoted by Godkin in his *History of Hungary*, 194. Even down to 1869 Protestants were not allowed to possess real property in Croatia, though Orthodox Greeks have there the free exercise of their religion.

<sup>2</sup> Carafa, *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 124.

mighty ally they had in Bethlen Gabor, the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania, the man of four and twenty fights, who overran the whole of Northern Hungary after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War. He was sore plagued with inroads of Polish Cossacks in the Jesuit interest, and had to threaten Turkish reprisals. He was a warm friend to learning and toleration, though his hard fate drove him to depend upon the Sultan, of whom he calls himself "the illustrious creature."<sup>1</sup> Though supported by Hungarians of all creeds, he had, after the defeat of the Bohemian Protestants, to come to terms with the new Emperor, Ferdinand II., keeping much of Northern Hungary. This bold Eastern champion, who stands in order of time between Maurice the Hollander and Gustavus the Swede, was long the bulwark of Transylvania; so much so, that Ferdinand II., a fierce oppressor of conscience in Germany and Bohemia, found himself constrained to issue edicts of toleration in Hungary, laws too often ill kept. Moreover, he was debarred from working his will upon the thousands of exiles, martyrs to their creed, the men who were streaming into Hungary from the West. Even the Magyar Diet, a most turbulent and uncertain assembly, was of some avail against the Jesuits and their policy.

Carafa, the Pope's Nuncio, complains that before his time many Catholic priests died by the sword or by hunger, that even in the Catholic parts one minister had to serve ten parishes, that there were no seminaries for clerical education. But all was changed when the nobles were converted back to the old faith; Count Zrinyi alone drove away twenty heretic preachers, and put Catholic priests in their room. Pazmany, who is called the true apostle of Hungary, founded many institutions, such as the College of Tyrnau, where more than a thousand scholars could be counted. Many Jesuit institutions were also erected. Every day

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Historiam Gabrielis Bethlen illustrantia*, 78, published at Budapesth in 1890, a mine of information in many languages. Toleration is claimed for "ordines regni Augustanum Helveticum et Romano—Catholicum amplectentes," p. 205.

benefices were recovered from the hands of the laity; the Emperor showed himself most liberal.<sup>1</sup>

We are allowed a glance at the Diet in 1625, when Carafa, the Papal Nuncio, from whom this account is taken, followed Ferdinand II. into Hungary. Many measures were adopted for the good of the realm; although the envoys of Bethlen Gabor stirred up much ill feeling. Not only Pazmany, but the Esterhazy of this time, a renegade from Protestantism, stood fast in defence of the Royal authority. The latter nobleman was chosen Palatine on the arrival of the deputies from Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, nearly all Catholics. He had one hundred and fifty votes, while only sixty were cast against him, a fact that shows us how Protestantism was now ebbing.<sup>2</sup> The next step was to procure the coronation of young Ferdinand, the Emperor's son. Some of the Imperial councillors doubted whether it would be right to swear to the religious privileges of the Hungarians; Esterhazy removed all scruples by saying that if the land became more Catholic, a majority would abolish the obnoxious oaths. The young King was therefore elected; Carafa describes the crown of St. Stephen and the Coronation ceremonies; the Royal ornaments were borne by Palfy, Nadasdy, and the other nobles whose names are always reappearing in Hungarian story. There was a gorgeous banquet; it was remarked that no blood was shed at the election, which was in this particular most different from the elections of the last sixty years.<sup>3</sup> Hungary was usually too like her neighbour on the North-East.

Ferdinand's zeal for conversion was not confined to Protestants; he wrote in 1628 to the Captains of Slavonia and Croatia, urging them to carry out the suggestions of the higher clergy in those parts, whereby Schismatics might be lured from their error to the Catholic religion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carafa, *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 193-196. In the last page, speaking of the Diet, he opposes the *Politici* to the *Catholici*; this first party arose in France fifty years earlier; we should now call them Moderate Catholics.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 215.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 217-224. In p. 115 he excuses Ferdinand's tolerant edicts in Hungary, *quia aliter fieri non poterat*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 173 of Ferdinand's Edicts, quoted at the end of Carafa's book.

The great war overflowed into Hungary. Mansfeld's march thither in 1626 is well known, and it was accompanied by fearful cruelties, seemingly perpetrated upon his brother Protestants; certainly his ally Bethlen Gabor uttered loud complaints. Esterhazy wrote to the Emperor that so wretched was the state of the land that thirty or forty thousand men within a few years had emigrated to Poland alone. Others had lately built two thousand villages in the Turkish country, whither they had gone, though the Turk pressed every fifth man into his service.<sup>1</sup>

Bethlen Gabor died in 1629, and his successor Ragotski did not command equal confidence. Persecution went on in Hungary; in 1647 it was found that four hundred religious buildings had been taken from the Protestants; of these not one-fourth were restored to them. We hear that the Lutherans had been preventing both Roman Catholics and Calvinists from erecting churches in Kaschau; this wrong was now redressed. Some of the worst persecutors were noble converts from Protestantism. Palfy, the new Palatine, a Moderate Catholic, had to struggle with the fanatical Primate, Lippay. Bigotry could not be checked; one of the methods of conversion was to billet Wallachian soldiers, the greatest savages in Europe, on the Hungarian Protestants. The Eucharist seems to have been crammed down the throats of doubtful converts, a practice contrary to that of Spain. A sturdy peasant cried in church, "If you thrust the wafer into my mouth, I swear by the living God that I will bite off your fingers."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand it must be allowed that even in Transylvania religious toleration was not what it should have been. Ragotski, a violent Calvinist, hated both the creed and the name of the Servian immigrants, driven Northward by Turkish oppression; he forced their Metropolitan to print and distribute the Calvinist catechism among these Orthodox. He appointed another Metropolitan,

The schismatics are here called *Wallones*; I suppose this means Wallachs; the Walloons of Namur were certainly anything but schismatical.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Historiam Bethlen illustrantia*, 444, 446, 466.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 175.



whom the Servians looked upon as a traitor, but who at least had the merit of standing up for the far more numerous Wallachs, and of printing their liturgies in their mother tongue. Ragotski most likely was bent on sowing disunion between the Serbs and the Wallachs with the view of Magyarising both.<sup>1</sup> Again in 1638 the Transylvanian Diet branded the sect of the Sabbatarians as traitors; these kept the Mosaic Sabbath on the seventh day of the week; they had made for fifty years most of their converts among the Szeklers. They were now forced to conform outwardly to Calvinism or Unitarianism. Some of these heretics so late as 1817 were driven to seek toleration under the Sultan's sway.<sup>2</sup>

It is now time to cast a glance at the lands to the West of Hungary. Ferdinand, who had been bred in Spain, was acknowledged by his elder brother, Charles V., to be lord of all the Hapsburg possessions in Germany. The young Prince, by his marriage with the sister of King Louis, gained a title to Hungary and Bohemia, and in 1526 he became King of these realms, which still compose one of the greatest of European States.

Luther's reformation took fast hold of the Austrian duchies. Tyrol is now the accepted type of staunch loyalty to both Pope and Kaiser; but even Tyrol was in those days plunging into revolution. The new learning spread among her clergy and laity. In 1525 the peasantry, like their Northern brethren, took up arms and plundered the castles of the nobles. Abbeys were robbed even on the Southern side of the Alps, or else the monks had to pay large ransoms. Ferdinand offered to hold a Diet where the peasantry might present petitions. But they saw the revolt in Swabia put down, and their own leaders were hung. Even Anabaptists had made their way into Tyrol so early as 1525, and to them no mercy was shown; they were especially strong among the miners and weavers. Taxes became as grievous a burden as ever. Another attempted rising three years later was nipped in the bud.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 59, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 113.

Vorarlberg alone in the South stood wholly opposed to all changes in Church and State.<sup>1</sup>

As to Austria, a married priest named Speratus had troubled Salzburg so early as 1521, and had thence taken his way to Vienna, where he preached in the Cathedral, making some converts to Lutheranism. He was assailed by the authorities, and returned rough answers.<sup>2</sup> In 1523 Ferdinand was striving, but in vain, to check the sale of the Reformers' books. A refractory preacher was burnt in 1524. The Anabaptists gave much trouble at Vienna; Ferdinand in vain issued commissions, as in 1528 and 1544, against the new heresies. He found that both nobles and clergy were revolting from the Pope, and that the disorderly lives of priests and monks were at the bottom of the mischief. Examples were made of Anabaptists, who were drowned and burnt, even under Bishop Nausea, the mildest of Prelates. In 1549 a procession was passing through Vienna; a fanatic tore the Host from the monstrance and threw it down; he was afterwards put to death, and a chapel was built on the scene of the crime.<sup>3</sup> There are instances of the same outrage, both at London and Rome, in this Century.

In 1542 the Jesuits first appeared at Ferdinand's Court; among them was one of the first disciples of St. Ignatius, Bobadilla, who followed the King to many German Diets, but had to leave the Empire owing to his hatred of the renowned Interim. In 1551 the Jesuits set up their College in Vienna and put forth a Catechism; thither also

<sup>1</sup> Menghin's *Geschichte von Tirol und Vorarlberg*, 244-249. See also Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe*, 182-184.

<sup>2</sup> See Wiedemann, *Geschichte der Reformation im lande unter der Enns*, i. 24. I depend upon this work much when I am treating of Austria. The Lutheran creed is set out in the hymn, p. 29—

Es ist das hayl uns kummen her  
Von gnad und lauter güten;  
Die werck helffen nymmer mer,  
Sie mügen nicht behüten.  
Der glaub sihet Jesum Christum an,  
Der hat genug für uns alle gethan,  
Er ist der mittler worden.

In the next page is a fine specimen of theological Billingsgate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 59, 60.

came men who had been trained at Ingolstadt, such as Canisius. As yet it was the day of small things; heresy was making daily conquests alike in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary; it was welcome both in the halls of the nobles and in the markets of the burghers; the "sectish" party (so it was called) seemed fast rooted in the land. Priests were often assailed in the streets. In 1560 Ferdinand had to issue an edict protecting the Franciscans from outrage.

In 1562 he undertook a visitation of the monasteries; fifty-two questions were propounded, such as, whether the parish priests were Catholic or Sectish; whether they lived with wives or with concubines; whether lights were kept burning before the Sacrament; what sort of Catechism was taught in the Convent school. The answers returned were anything but satisfactory; prayers for the dead were disused, and children were baptized without any ceremonies. Concubines were to be found even within the monasteries; heresy was openly proclaimed; schoolmasters were teachers of false doctrine. The names of the worst offenders are given. One Prior told the Visitors that it was impossible to live chaste. The nuns at Traunkirchen avowed that from their youth they had received the Communion in both kinds, and that they would die rather than change this; their Chaplain is described as "old, married, and a sectish man."<sup>1</sup>

A General Council, it was hoped, would alter all this for the better. The good Cardinal Sadolet had already in 1537 written to Nausea, the Bishop of Vienna, that the Pope was talking of this expedient; the morals and the opinions of men were so corrupt that it was hard to find any health-giving medicine for the evil. Another Austrian Bishop avowed that there was a great difference between the Roman Court and the Roman Church; if the Pope would reform his house, his Court, and its abuses, he might hope that all Germany would return to her old creed. In 1545 the Council of Trent began to sit. The States of Lower Austria printed Melanchthon's protest against the new

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *Reformation*, i. 154, etc., where many unedifying particulars are set out in the old German.

Papal device. Ferdinand appointed Bishop Nausea his envoy to the Council; the Prelate proposed to set out thither with a following of fifteen persons and eighteen horses.<sup>1</sup> He was highly esteemed among his brethren at Trent, where he distinguished himself in the debates on the Eucharist. After Nausea's death in 1552 Brus succeeded him as Bishop of Vienna, and also as Ferdinand's envoy to the Council in 1562, while another Bishop represented Hungary. But whatever Trent might decree the men of Austria would have none of the spiritual food provided by the Pope. Their belief may be gathered from the old rimes, most appropriate in the mouths of men who held the outpost of Christendom.<sup>2</sup>

In 1556 Pius V., in a letter to the Archbishop of Salzburg, stated his opinion that heresies had multiplied so much owing to the evil lives of priests; these had earned the scorn of Catholics and heretics alike. Unless concubinage could be rooted out there was no hope of crushing heresy.<sup>3</sup> Some Bishops assembled at Salzburg and enacted various regulations for the clergy. One of these forbids the ministers of the altar to dance, but makes an exception in the case of a wedding, when they may enjoy one single dance with gentle and moderate gait in the most modest fashion.<sup>4</sup>

Ferdinand had done his best to obtain reforms at Trent. His envoys had brought forward the knotty question of the Sacramental Cup; they were violently opposed by the Jesuits Salmeron and Lainez; sixty-nine Fathers voted that the Cup should be given to the laity, while seventy-nine voted on the other side.<sup>5</sup> Rather later, in 1563, Ferdinand

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, *Reformation*, i. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort,  
Und stewr des Bapsts und Türken Mord,  
Die Jhesum Christum deinen Son  
Stürzen wöllen von seinem Thron.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 258. Pius V., I suppose, would be bracketed by Cardinal Pallavicini with Adrian VI. as a most wanton alarmist.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 262. In the preceding page we find a curious instance, showing how completely the spirit of the Renaissance gave way to that of the Counter-Reformation. The German Bishops had in their Constitutions made one allusion to Cicero, another to Plato; these were both struck out at Rome.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 309.

assembled at Vienna the deputies of the three Spiritual Electors, of the Archbishop of Salzburg, and of the Duke of Bavaria, to debate the great question. The upshot was that in 1564 Pius IV. granted the Cup under certain conditions to the Germans, Bohemians, and Hungarians.<sup>1</sup> Pius V. wished to recall the grant; the contrast between these two Popes is always strongly marked. The consequence was that in one-half of a Diocese the laity might be indulged, in the other half the Cup might be denied them. We have lists of communicants at the Vienna churches drawn up after 1580; the Jesuits claim many thousands communicating in one kind; the Franciscans seem to have lost their old popularity.<sup>2</sup>

Not long after his success in obtaining the Cup from Rome Ferdinand I. died. Germany owes much to this tolerant Monarch, described by a foreign ambassador as one of the best Princes of the time, peaceable, of unspotted life, and living in continual fear of God.<sup>3</sup> One bloody crime in Hungary and harsh treatment of the Bohemians on one occasion are the chief faults that can be alleged against him.

He was succeeded in 1564 by his son, Maximilian II., who is the greatest example among Monarchs of a man who halted between two opinions. He was a skilled observer of the habits of many nations; he loved botany, metallurgy, and music, but at the same time never neglected his proper business; he was so courteous that he never addressed any man with the *thou*. Being a lover of toleration and a true German patriot, he of course hated the Spaniards and their ways; the fate of France, if he could help it, should never be that of Germany. He studied the works of Luther and the other Reformers, and called the Catholics his enemies; he wished to open the Spiritual Electorates to Protestants.

<sup>1</sup> Canisius disapproved of the grant: "Non satisfacit mihi, aiebat, humana isthæc prudentia, . . . etsi veritas odium parit."—Sacchini, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars secunda, 278.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 317. The numbers communicating are followed by the words "sub unâ" or "sub utrâque,"—words that were long of fearful import in Bohemia.

<sup>3</sup> Micheli, quoted by Ranke, *Ferdinand and Maximilian*, 30.



It would have been hard for him, it must be allowed, to change his creed; he was Emperor-Elect, and therefore, in right of his position, the Advocate of the Roman Church, as all the German Cæsars had been for nearly eight hundred years. At the same time so wise a man was naturally disgusted with the civil war raging among Protestant theologians—war which was every year splitting the party wider asunder. In vain did Maximilian propound questions to Melanchthon, some of them bearing on the settlement of these disputes. Hosius was able to contrast these noxious broils with the unity of the Papal Church. Philip II. held out hopes to his German kinsman that the Spanish crown might descend to the heirs of the Emperor-Elect, and thus were knit closer the bonds that linked the Hapsburgs together. The Polish crown was another bait to Maximilian, who towards the end of his life drew nearer to Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In the Austrian duchies there were no fewer than six parties into which the Protestants were divided; among them were Stankarians, Neutrals, and Flacians; Melanchthon was far too mild for the average fanatic. They had free scope for their opinions; the Hapsburg brethren were forced to apply to the States for money and men on behalf of the Turkish war, and in order to obtain these the rulers had to profess tolerance. But there was no such union among the German Lutherans as there was among the French Calvinists, men who could learn lessons from Adversity. It was confessed that in Austria there was almost too much religious freedom; thither flocked all who were banished from other parts of Germany. The different parties had long begun to call names.<sup>2</sup> Thus the play went on, and the little mice

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke's *Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II.*, 63, 95. See also Maximilian's very Protestant correspondence with the Duke of Wirtemberg and Pfaußer the Minister.—Wiedemann, *Reformation*, ii. 105-115.

<sup>2</sup> Thus we see

Die Flacianer und Zeloten  
Sind des Teufel's Vorboten.

A parody of the Paternoster was put forth against Jakob Andreä. It ends with "Du heillos Jäckl! höllisch feuer ist deine kraft, schwefel und pech ist deine macht, ein strick um den hals deine gewalt, der rabenstein und galgen deine herrlichkeit," etc.—Wiedemann, i. 386, 405. One party called

bickered together, not heeding the arch enemy purring round the corner, sharp of tooth and claw; she was to make her grand pounce rather later.

But Maximilian died, too early, in 1576, and a change was speedily felt when his son Rudolph came to the throne, one of the strangest beings that ever wielded the sceptre. He soon became a tool in the hand of Porzia, the Pope's Nuncio, whose reports have doubtless reached us in the pages of Maffei, the contemporary Jesuit historian of Gregory XIII.<sup>1</sup> An infernal machine was at work on the perverse folk of Vienna, the ardour of heretical preachers, backed by the States of Austria. These vowed to abstain from the defence of the realm against the Turk, if toleration were not upheld; some Politicals, sitting in Cæsar's council, advised conciliation. On the other hand stood the Nuncio, the Spanish Ambassador, and the Jesuits. A spark kindled a mighty flame. In 1578 Rudolph was bent on celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi with pomp such as had not been seen for years. The sergeants overthrew some stalls in the market place to make way for the procession; soon there was an uproar and a call to arms; the guards fled like cowards, while Cæsar stood steady as a rock. One evening, not long afterwards, he sent orders to Opitz the preacher, "a most seditious tongue," and also to the masters and scholars of his sect to leave Vienna while the sun was shining. This was done by the Nuncio's advice; and afterwards neither Lutheran nor Calvinist preached openly at Vienna. Pope Gregory XIII. sent a brief, exhorting Cæsar to continue his heroic undertaking against the sowers of tares; but the conversion of Linz was found a harder task than that of the capital.<sup>2</sup>

All through this Century the Austrian peasants had

the other "fleischpreiser, Antinomer, Epicurer"; the other retorted with "grabsünder, cadaveristen, neue Rumpelgeister, Poltergeister."—Wiedemann, i. 425.

<sup>1</sup> In 1581 one of the Jesuits thus addressed Rudolph:

Utere jure tuo, Cæsar, servosque Lutheri  
Euse, rotâ, ponto, funibus, igne neca.

Léger, *Austro-Hungary*, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, 333-338.

been oppressed with endless taxes for the benefit of their feudal lords and clergy, or for the Turkish wars. In 1594 and later, they resisted by violence attempts made to force Papal priests upon their parishes. They further drew up a list of the wrongs of which they complained, such as the robberies perpetrated by the Christian soldiery on their way to the wars Eastwards. The lords, whatever religion they might profess, were all alike oppressors.<sup>1</sup>

To the South of the Austrian duchies a black cloud was arising. Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, peopled partly by Germans, partly by Slavonians, had long been under the Archduke Charles, a younger brother of the tolerant Maximilian. Charles left a son Ferdinand, who probably did more for Rome than any other layman in the world has ever done, at the cost of millions of lives. Philip II., it is true, brought back what we now call Belgium to the true faith; Sigismund III. laid the foundation of a short-lived Papal empire in Ruthenia; but Ferdinand's achievements were far greater than these. Born in 1578, he was bred by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt. He avowed that he would rather beg his bread or die, before he would suffer the true Church to be injured; in other words, before he would tolerate Protestants. He made a pilgrimage to Loretto, bowed before Clement VIII. at Rome, and there vowed to restore waning Catholicism.

In 1598 he set about the great work in his inherited provinces, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Stern measures were needed; his capital, Gratz, was almost wholly Lutheran. He began by banishing all Protestant preachers and schoolmasters. He founded colleges and convents for Jesuits and Capuchins in his chief towns. His watchword was; "better a wilderness than a land full of heretics." Although two-thirds of his subjects were Protestants, he ordered them to leave his domains, unless they would abjure their faith.

He effected all this with very little opposition; a few miners and peasants alone withstood him. The Turks were bringing the war close to his borders; but he was able to gain subsidies from his subjects, and then let loose his

<sup>1</sup> Wiedemann, i. 496. They give a long list of grievances.

soldiers upon the unhappy land. In 1603 Rome could count an increase of 40,000 communicants in these parts.<sup>1</sup> The lot of these persecuted provinces was soon, in the new Seventeenth century, to be shared by the Austrian duchies, and by a more Northern realm.

Bohemia, about 1500, had been divided into three religious parties: the Roman Catholics; the Utraquists or Calixtines, who insisted on the bestowal of the Cup on laymen in the Eucharist; and the Bohemian Brethren, who enforced a most stern discipline, differing but little in their tenets from the Protestantism of a later age; these last underwent much persecution from the other two parties. Luther appeared and produced a great effect upon both the Utraquists and the Bohemian Brethren; his doctrines were preached at Prague so early as 1519. Ferdinand I. did his best to check them, but in vain; several, both men and women, were burnt. The prevalence of aristocracy in Bohemia seemed as favourable to Protestantism there as it was in France, Poland, and Hungary; though the tyranny of the Bohemian nobles over the peasants was very grievous. Ferdinand had at first acknowledged himself to be merely an elected King in Bohemia; the national archives were burnt in an accidental fire in 1541, and Ferdinand at once demanded that in the new charters all reference to his election should be dropped; to this the Estates weakly agreed.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Moravia became the refuge of Tyrolese Anabaptists, who were fostered by the nobles of the land as the best of immigrants.<sup>3</sup>

In 1546 Charles V. began to assail the German Protestants; Ferdinand, eager to help his brother, asked for aid from the Bohemian Diet. This body refused his request; a league was formed to limit the kingly power, and succours were promised to the Germans. The victory of Muhlberg was as disastrous to the Bohemians as to their Teutonic brethren. Ferdinand came back to take vengeance on his subjects; the Bloody Diet, as it is called, was held, when a

<sup>1</sup> Ranke's *History of the Popes*, Book VII., Chapter i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Léger, *L'Autriche-Hongrie*, 276.

<sup>3</sup> Kautsky, *Communism in Central Europe*, 190, etc.

few were beheaded, while others were fined and imprisoned, and the privileges of the towns were much restricted. The Bohemian Brethren were driven out of the land, and took refuge by hundreds in Poland. John Augusta had been hailed by Luther as the Apostle of the Sclavonians, and later became a Bishop of the Brethren; he was now seized, fearfully tortured, and kept for seventeen years in prison, until the King's death. Two hundred clergymen who had been ordained in Germany, were by degrees banished. Zahera, a leading man among the Utraquists, was as eager to oppress the Brethren as if he had been a believer in the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

Other champions now appeared in Prague. The Jesuits settled there in 1554, and the Hussites were soon disturbed by the sermons of the famous Canisius. New schools were opened and many converts were made; the pulpit and the confessional were in full employment. Pius IV. granted the Cup to the Bohemians as he did to the Hungarians, turning a deaf ear to the opposition of Lainez, the General of the Jesuits. In spite of this grant, the Protestant doctrines made great way in Bohemia, especially after the tolerant Maximilian II. had succeeded his father Ferdinand. The new Emperor had acknowledged that, of all the sects, the Bohemian Brethren came nearest to apostolic simplicity. He seemed more inclined to consult Melancthon than Canisius. He thought that to force conscience was to assail Heaven, and would sometimes attend the Lutheran worship.<sup>2</sup> But he was not pleased by the religious dissensions that were gnawing the vitals of Germany and Bohemia alike. In the last country there were Utraquists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren. These, in 1575, all joined in presenting to the good Emperor a common confession, composed in Bohemian, avoiding scholastic questions.

Rudolph II. succeeded his father in 1576, and at first

<sup>1</sup> For my account of Bohemian affairs I depend mainly upon Pesheck, *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*.

<sup>2</sup> Isthuanfius, p. 269, says that two family matters worried Ferdinand just before his death; "Maximiliani in religione dissidium, et alterius filii dispar conjugium." This last clause refers to the renowned Philippina Welser.



showed much tolerance in Bohemia; Protestantism continued to spread, the Utraquists by degrees going over to the Lutherans. After 1600 the Emperor leant more to the Jesuits, and a hot persecution was set on foot. He was forced by his more moderate brother Matthias to abdicate in certain parts of the Hapsburg dominions, outside Bohemia. In 1609 his Czech subjects took up arms for religious liberty, which they wrested from the crazy old despot; many priests now threw off the Papal yoke. Silesia joined Bohemia in the new movement. Rudolph signed a charter, which granted what was asked, at the intercession of Matthias and the Protestant Electors of Germany. Soon thirty Evangelical churches were found in Prague alone. The Roman Catholics of course talked of sedition; some of them, who were officials, refused to sign the great Charter. The chairs of the University were now filled with learned men, many coming from abroad; Budowa, a learned patriot, was the soul of all that was there done. The Lutherans, whose leading man was Count Schlick, built very fine churches, not long to be enjoyed by the builders. It was computed that there were five hundred Evangelical clergymen in Bohemia. But in the background stood the Jesuits, who were always declaring that the Charter was not valid, since it had been granted without the Pope's license.

Rudolph began to waver again. One of the Archdukes, in 1611, led a savage army into Bohemia, with the Emperor's connivance, as is supposed. The foreigners forced their way into Prague, but were put to flight with much slaughter, as help came from all sides. The uproar lasted for three days, and the treacherous enterprise bears some resemblance to Alençon's sudden attack upon Antwerp, thirty years earlier. The plot failed; after the bloody business, it was hopeless to maintain Rudolph on the throne; he now lost Bohemia, as he had before lost Hungary and Austria; his brother Matthias, after forcing this wretched being to abdicate, established himself at Prague. In the next year Rudolph ended his worthless life; he had been fairly prosperous in the first part of his

reign, when he leant to tolerance; in his last years, the intolerance enjoined by his Jesuit advisers was his ruin.

Hitherto it has been convenient to separate the histories of Austria and Bohemia; after 1612, when Rudolph died, it is best to follow the fates of these countries collectively, as almost everything turns upon the character of the ruling Emperor. Hungary was to fall into line fifty years later. Matthias was an aged man, when he came to fill the various Hapsburg thrones; he and his brothers were unhappily childless, and his natural heir was the bigoted Ferdinand, who had already converted Styria to the Church. In 1617 Matthias suddenly produced Ferdinand as his candidate at Prague, and requested the Bohemians to acknowledge this cousin of his as their future King. There was of course much unwillingness to comply; every one must have known of the Styrian persecutions. But some of the chief lords were cajoled into obedience to the wish of Matthias; so the fatal election was effected. How different was the political instinct of these blind Bohemians from that of the Scotch nation twenty years later!

Ferdinand was next proclaimed in the lands connected with Bohemia, and travelled into Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; the Jesuits were triumphant. The Papal party began to assail the other side by word and deed. The printing-press was hampered; and attempts were made to seize Protestant churches. Soon an outrage was perpetrated that was the true cause of the long war now close at hand. The heretics of Klostergrab, a town belonging to the Archbishop of Prague, built a church for themselves. Sentence was given against them, and the Prelate took down the building. Another church at Braunau was shut up. Remonstrances were sent to Vienna, and at these Matthias became most angry. He turned his eyes upon two Bohemian noblemen, Slawata and Martinitz, who had taken the lead in persecution; it was said that they had hunted their peasants to church with dogs, and had denied them the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial.

Matthias employed these two men, with eight others, to repel the petitions of the Protestants. The oppressed

party was headed by Thurn, an old warrior who had served against the Turks, and who had played a great part in wresting the Charter from Rudolph. On May 23, 1618, the Bohemian States repaired to the Palace; they were there confronted by Slawata and Martinitz. Raupowa shouted, "Straight out of the window with them, after the old Bohemian fashion!" This was done; and the two noblemen crawled away, after a drop of sixty feet. The Defenestration was the signal for the Thirty Years' War, whereby every corner of both Bohemia and Germany was laid waste, every nation of Europe, except Russia and Turkey, taking part in the struggle. This bloody business was the triumph of Spain and the Jesuits; we need spend little time upon their weak tool, the Emperor Matthias.

The Bohemian States put forth two apologies, in 1618 and in the following year; they at once banished the Jesuits and certain Prelates.<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand, who was the real author of the late harsh acts of the government in Bohemia, assailed the rebels in a State paper. "Since heresy came into the land, we see nothing but uproar and rebellion. The Catholics and the Sovereign have shown only moderation; but these sects, having gained their objects in religion, now turn their arms against the civil authority. They have usurped the power of taxation, and have made alliance with foreign princes. If sovereign power comes from God, these deeds must proceed from the Devil. The Monarch must not connive at the demands of the rebels; he must free himself from this base slavery. Every ruler must favour our cause. As to the cost of the armies needed, it can be defrayed from the forfeited goods of the rebels. It is better not to reign at all than to be the slave of subjects."<sup>2</sup>

In this paper of Ferdinand's we have the key to the debasement of Southern Europe for the next two hundred years. But Matthias was not equally stern; he inclined to temporise, whatever Spain and the Jesuits might say. In this he was supported by his minister, Cardinal Klesel, the Prelate of Vienna, who, though no friend of Protestants, had

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck.

<sup>2</sup> Coxe's *House of Austria*, ii. 462.

some idea of the miseries that might now at any moment be let loose upon Christendom. But Ferdinand played a bold game; he seized Klesel and sent him off to a castle in Tyrol. The Emperor, speechless with wrath at being robbed of his minister, in the end submitted to the outrage.<sup>1</sup> War broke out in Bohemia and the neighbouring lands; in 1619 not only the German Protestants, but Savoy and Venice favoured the rebels. But on both sides there was soon a leaning to peace; a congress was to be held for the purpose, when the most unlucky of all events, the death of the Emperor Matthias, rolled everything back into ruin.

Ferdinand had now a right to the crowns of both Hungary and Bohemia, if he could only master these realms. The men of Austria had thrown their weight into the Protestant scale; Moravia rose at Thurn's bidding, as Silesia and Lusatia had done before. Their leader marched to Vienna, where it had been already proposed to shut up Ferdinand in a convent. The Monarch was saved as if by a miracle. Later in the year he was chosen Emperor, even the Protestant Electors of Germany not daring to protest.

Soon after this, Frederick the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to our James I., was elected King of Bohemia by the rebels, and was backed by nearly all the Calvinists in Europe. But Bethlem Gabor, the great Hungarian champion, was the only one of them all who gave any real help at this awful crisis. Vienna was once more threatened by the rebels, but was relieved, owing to the advance of a body of Polish Cossacks through Northern Hungary; this inroad of King Sigismund's troops was one of the chief causes of a furious war between Turkey and Poland. Now was the time to strike; much misery would have been averted, had the Bohemians at the outset been worthy of their cause. But they had a rooted objection to part with money; loans were refused and base money was coined; the troops, being left unpaid, broke out into mutiny, and lived upon the peasantry. The nobles would not set the peasants free. In

<sup>1</sup> It is a most significant fact that Bishop Carafa, in his *Germania Sacra restaurata*, says not a word about this outrage, which he must have well known.

vain were the estates of thirty-three nobles, who took the Imperial side, confiscated.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing in Bohemia of that spirit which had fired the burghers of Holland, when, fifty years earlier, they were eager to sacrifice everything if only they might baffle Alva. A bold chief, with a good army, might have ended the war in 1619, before Ferdinand's allies were ready.

They were ready by the summer of 1620. Help came from all sides; Philip III. of Spain, the head of the Hapsburgs, poured in thousands of good soldiers from Italy and Flanders, and was most freehanded of his American gold. Pope Paul V. forgot his nephews for a while, and sent many hundred thousand florins, taking a tenth of all Church revenues in Italy. The Grand Duke of Tuscany sent one regiment. Even the Duke of Savoy, one of the earliest allies of the Bohemian rebels, had now changed sides. Maximilian of Bavaria, bred at Ingolstadt, trod in the steps of his forefathers; this thrifty statesman, the father of his subjects, with money in abundance at command, was won over to Ferdinand's side by brilliant promises, which were later redeemed. The three Spiritual Electors of Germany furnished money to the good cause. The Polish King sent his bloodthirsty Cossacks, who laid waste the land wherever they came. A more shameful ally was the Elector of Saxony; he, as the head of the German Lutherans, was jealous of the new Calvinist King at Prague, and therefore this degenerate representative of the conqueror of Charles V. took up arms on Ferdinand's behalf. France and England both stood neuter.

In the summer of 1620 the German Protestants were rendered harmless by skilful diplomacy; their Austrian brethren were overawed by the savages from Poland.<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Bavaria, with Tilly at his side, entered luckless Bohemia, and Rome's long battle at last came rolling on the foe. The usurping King seemed to be forsaken by all; the Hollanders sent money, but not men. Frederick had disgusted his Czech subjects—that is, all of them that were

<sup>1</sup> Gindely well points out the folly of the Bohemians.

<sup>2</sup> Gindely gives a frightful picture of the sufferings of the Austrians.



not Calvinists—by destroying the altars and statues in the Cathedral of Prague, the holiest sanctuary of the national life; this was done at the instigation of the Queen and her fanatical chaplain. The Hussites and Lutherans threatened to raise an uproar at this idiotic affront to Bohemian feeling. Frederick was equally unlucky in things military. He had kept his two best champions, Thurn and Mansfeld, in the background. His chosen general, the Prince of Anhalt, was driven under the walls of Prague. Soon came the 8th of November, 1620, the blackest day for Protestantism that ever dawned. The enemy was in overpowering strength; Frederick's Hungarian allies were soon defeated; many thousands of the Bohemians and Moravians were left dead on the field, the ill-omened White Mountain. The Usurper, who had not thought it worth his while to head his misguided followers, fled from Prague in wild panic. The citizens were plundered; murder as well as robbery prevailed throughout the neighbouring villages. Some forsook their religion on being promised exemption from military oppression. These were soon complaining of having been tricked; but the Jesuits answered, "We must deal with heretics as with madmen; if you wish to wrest a knife from them, you must promise them something else, even if you do not mean to give it them. You ought therefore to be grateful to the Emperor for saving your souls."<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand flooded Bohemia with debased money, a further source of ruin. The Spaniards and Walloons ransacked the libraries and burned thousands of Bohemian books; hence the scarcity of these in our day. The Cossacks from Poland paid themselves by robbing and tormenting the villagers, until thousands of victims had lost their lives in the woods. The tomb of the great Ziska was now destroyed.

Lohelius, the banished Archbishop, returned with the Jesuits and reconsecrated the Cathedral after the late shameful Calvinist outrages; relics, such as the hair of St. Cecilia and the bush of Moses, were displayed on the altars. The Vienna preachers were never tired of repeating that the Emperor's victory was won on the day when the

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck, i. 374.

Gospel read contained the words, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." A Capuchin friar of renown preached before Ferdinand; the sermon set forth all the insolent deeds of the Bohemians, and quoted the text; "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." These rebels ought never again to raise their heads; all their liberties should be taken away; mildness would be fatal. Let not Ferdinand draw down upon himself the curse that was denounced against Ahab for sparing the Syrian king when helpless.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand needed not the spur. Three months passed after the great battle; the Bohemian leaders had been lulled into false security, though the grim Tilly, more compassionate now than was his wont, had hinted to them that they had better be off. In February, 1621, the blow suddenly fell; all the chiefs that could be caught were thrown into prison; they were fifty in number. In June, sentences of death, of lifelong imprisonment, and of exile were pronounced. Ferdinand II. remitted some of the punishments; thus Count Schlick, Chief-Justice under Frederick, was beheaded, but was excused the loss of his right hand; he averred, "Love of freedom and religion alone constrained us to draw the sword." His fate was shared by Budowa, one of the most learned men of the age; he was called "the last of the Bohemians." Tessenius had been ambassador to Hungary; he therefore had his tongue cut out, before being beheaded. Some were hanged; one Senator had his tongue nailed to the gallows for one hour. A poet who had written against Ferdinand received one hundred lashes. The victims were forbidden the ministrations of the Bohemian Brethren, though Lutheran preachers were tolerated; this was perhaps to delude the Elector of Saxony, who had betrayed Schlick to his doom.<sup>2</sup>

Twenty-three patriots laid down their lives on June 21,

<sup>1</sup> Gindely, i. 255.

<sup>2</sup> For all this see *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, compiled in 1632 from the testimony of many sufferers; published in English eighteen years later. Pescheck has taken much from this book.

1621. Prince Lichtenstein, the Imperial Governor, now enjoined all the wealthy to ask pardon for their crimes, on pain of the Emperor's displeasure. Hence 728 Bohemian knights and gentlemen impeached themselves. The following sentence was read to each man:—"Your honour and life are granted you, but your estates will be dealt with at the Emperor's pleasure." Some lost the whole, some the half of their property. Slawata, here a good witness, writes that many innocent men were robbed and banished, through the covetousness of the State officers. No man who was at once wealthy and heretical was allowed to escape. Vast estates were shared among Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, the conquerors of the land; the ancient Bohemian nobility henceforth almost wholly vanished. The old charters of the country, the bulwarks of freedom, were sent to the Emperor at Vienna; he simply threw them into the fire. The Moravian nobility were handled much in the same way.<sup>1</sup> There is a curious resemblance in the fate of Bohemia now and in that of Ireland thirty years later; two widely different creeds emulated each other in savage eagerness to stamp out a down-trodden rival.

The Bohemian churches were given over to the Roman clergy, who lashed the pulpits and altars whence heresy had been preached, and thus purified them. The colossal gilded chalice was taken down from the top of the Tein Church, and all relics of Huss were removed. The bones of the dead were burnt. A long list of tortures, inflicted by the triumphant soldiery on the Protestant clergy, is given; the victims were officially accused of having been the sole cause of the late Revolution. They were mostly banished at the end of 1621, though those of them who professed Lutheranism were allowed a short respite.

The like went on in Moravia; here hardly one-fifth of the old Catholic clergy, according to Carafa, remained available. In this province lived a renowned Baron, Charles Zierotin, a convert of Beza's, a man famous all over Europe for his wisdom and virtue. Being an old Viceroy of the Emperor Matthias, he had ranged himself on the Imperial

<sup>1</sup> For all this see the last part of Pescheck's first volume.

side against the Usurpation; but this availed him little, since he tolerated twenty-four clergy, Bohemian Brethren, on his estates. These were banished by the Government. In 1623 the Baron sought an audience of the Emperor, who confessed that he had promised religious liberty to his noble subject; but that promise could not be kept since the Pope disapproved of it. Zierotin had to emigrate to Breslau.<sup>1</sup> Silesia obtained better conditions, much to Carafa's displeasure, thanks to the Saxon Elector's intercession.

To supply the room of the banished clergy, many debauched monks from Poland were called in, who, as Pelzel the Romanist chronicler states, led most vicious lives. Various abominations were perpetrated at confessions and pilgrimages.<sup>2</sup> Even so late as 1645 there was a want of pastors. If the clergy did little, the nobles of the new school did much in furthering the schemes of the Jesuits. Wallenstein, long before he became famous all over Europe, was known as a great persecutor; he had bought up great numbers of the confiscated estates of his countrymen at a low rate, and soon became a power in the land. He made use of one Kotwa as his agent in things spiritual. In 1623 the townsmen of Friedland were ordered to place some of their boys at the Jesuit College of Gitschin, where the great man their Lord often lived; the townsmen steadily refused. Next year the Lutheran minister was banished; fifty musketeers were sent to install the new priest. Two thousand people, weeping and moaning, accompanied their banished pastor for the first mile, and heard his farewell sermon. The successor complained that hardly the tenth part of his flock came to his sermons; this was altered a few years later, and Friedland, that had been heretical for ninety years, came over to the true faith.<sup>3</sup>

Not only the Protestant clergy, but the schoolmasters had to leave the country; the University of Prague was

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck, ii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> "Menschen die insonderheit in der Pæderastie in Böhmen Epoche machten."—Hormayr, quoted by Michiels, *Secret History of the Austrian Government*, 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 61.

handed over to the Jesuits. The natural result followed; education sank as low in Bohemia as it did in Poland under the same light and leading. The Jesuits destroyed much of the old literature of the land; Bibles were specially hunted out and burnt, while immoral works were tolerated. One inquisitor, Koniasch, burnt more than sixty thousand volumes; the old Hussite writings were his chosen quarry. Hence old Bohemian literature is now more likely to be found in German towns, whither the exiles fled, than in Prague.

A Jesuit Father, Krawarski, was most successful in the work of conversion; even the district of Opoczna, which had once risen in arms against the new Imperial system, listened to his preaching; his thirty-three thousand converts, made at different times, yielded to his eloquence and not to brute force. Three hundred of the Jesuits could each boast of his many proselytes; many of their names are given by Balbinus, the historian of their deeds in Bohemia; some lost their lives when at their work.

But the best agents in converting the land were Lichtenstein's soldiers, many of whom were Spaniards; their deeds were an exact counterpart to those of the French dragoons, sixty years later. These oppressors of the Czechs were called "salvationists"; they ate up everything, leaving the people to starve. Silesia was fearfully oppressed by these converters. The unlucky victims were forced to sign a declaration that they had become Catholics without compulsion; they sometimes had to take an oath, always to flee the Cup and the Bible. Some feigned apostasy and bought forged confessional tickets; a priest at Prague amassed a vast sum by selling these, but was discovered, stripped of his Orders, and beheaded.

It is thought that about 36,000 families were driven from Bohemia into the neighbouring countries, such as Lusatia, which had happily been pledged to the Saxon Elector; many of these exiles had sold their estates at a mere nominal value, so great was the glut in the market. The cruelties enacted in many towns were fearful. At Schlan fifty men were imprisoned for three days in a room so narrow that they could barely stand, much less lie down;



another room was devoted to the similar maltreatment of women; what the effect was may be imagined. Protestants were forbidden to marry, to bury their dead with proper rites, or to baptize their children. Many were tortured, and begged for death; it was answered "The Emperor does not thirst for your blood, but for your salvation." Resistance was sometimes attempted; there was a rising at Friedland, where a Jesuit lost his life. Oppression was not confined to religion; the Emperor played tricks with the coinage, to the ruin of Bohemia.<sup>1</sup>

Some sought refuge in the vast forests. "I remember," writes Holyk, "when I was seven years old, going with my parents to a place where hundreds of men were assembled, who had built themselves huts with the fir-branches; here two ministers gave the sacrament to the people; later, every one returned to his home. Once or twice a year they assembled in this way. They had watchful sentinels posted all round them."<sup>2</sup>

The work of conversion by violent means had gone on briskly, as is honestly confessed by Carafa, who stood at the Emperor's elbow for nearly eight eventful years.<sup>3</sup> He it was who, soon after his arrival from Rome, persuaded Ferdinand to exile the Calvinist *blaterones*, the Nuncio's favourite term for heretical ministers. Carafa had an easier task than he would have had sixty years earlier. He directed Cæsar's attention to the little knots of heretics that contrived to lurk in many a town between Trieste and Dresden. There were twenty thousand Anabaptists in Moravia, men found most useful in trade and tillage, with whom, when driven out, the nobles were most loth to part. Soon all the citizens in Olmutz, except one, were converted; and a church was built at Nicolsburg, after the exact pattern of the famous temple at Loretto.<sup>4</sup> The Pope, by the wish of the

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck, ii. 232, 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 255. Pescheck takes much from *The History of the Bohemian Persecution*, which comes down to 1632. It appeared in English in 1650.

<sup>3</sup> He says, *solam vexationem Bohemis posse intellectum præbere, eosque in viam bonam dirigere*; p. 102 of *Germania Sacra restaurata*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 98, 181, 224.

Cardinal Inquisitors, ordered Carafa to forbid the use of the Cup to the Bohemian laity, though some of the nobles remonstrated.<sup>1</sup> In 1623 the Nuncio came in Cæsar's train to Prague, mourning over the utter want of true believers all through the country, but exulting at the view of the late glorious battlefield, the beginning of the frightful disasters that had lately befallen Protestantism, sorrows that were to last ten years, with barely one ray of hope. Carafa obtained from the Pope and the Propaganda an edict to all the Generals of the different Orders, making requisition for the services of the fittest monks and friars, that the Bohemian vineyard, now laid waste, might be duly tended.<sup>2</sup> In 1625 the land was ravaged by a plague, such as had not been known within man's memory, a scourge that for the time drove out the Prelates and chief nobles; at this period the rites of marriage and the purchase of property were denied to Protestants; the fact that the third part of the lands in Bohemia had been confiscated to the Crown mightily helped forward sound religion. The persecuted peasants, in their despair, would sometimes leave all, and burn their own houses. Six hundred of these set upon a nobleman who had oppressed them, and killed him with poles and clubs; they held out for two months, till the troops came down upon them, and twenty of the ring-leaders died by fearful tortures at Prague.<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand's reading of the text, "Compel them to come in," was a right costly affair to his people. The two Vienna Councillors, to whom Rome owed most, according to Carafa's judgment, were Eggenberg and Werdenberg.<sup>4</sup> In 1625 a still more famous ally came forward; Cæsar gave commission to Wallenstein to levy troops in Bohemia and Moravia; within two months twenty-three thousand soldiers had been raised for the war.<sup>5</sup>

The Austrian duchies were now taken in hand; Carafa groaned at the sight of more than a thousand Protestants going forth from Vienna on Sundays to worship in their own method at a village some way outside the walls; and

<sup>1</sup> *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 177, 186.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 201.

this was five years after the great victory.<sup>1</sup> There were twenty Lutheran Doctors of medicine, who had much influence in the University of Vienna; these were expelled, and that corporation was handed over to the Jesuits. In 1626 eight thousand peasants in Upper Austria, refusing to be converted, took up arms and defeated their local tyrant, the Count of Herberstorff. An Abbot, whom they had taken prisoner, had to beg for his life most humbly; some priests were slain. The latter Feidinger was chosen General by the revolvers; they sent a petition to Ferdinand, asking for religious toleration and redress of temporal grievances. Cæsar was at this moment pressed on all sides; yet he would not yield one jot to the Austrian peasants. Thirty thousand of them were soon besieging Lintz, but underwent a bloody defeat; they contrived to slaughter one hostile regiment, when it was overcome with wine and sleep. The Bavarian Elector at last came to the help of Cæsar, sending Pappenheim with eight thousand soldiers, who won three battles over the boors.<sup>2</sup> By the beginning of 1627 all was quiet; the Austrian nobles, who had not joined the peasant revolt, in vain hoped that their loyalty would plead for toleration of Protestantism; they were given their choice of conversion or banishment. It must be said that there were but few executions in cold blood.<sup>3</sup> So severe was the persecution in Lower Austria, that it actually drove the Lutherans and Calvinists into union with each other. Cæsar now ordered the nobles in that Duchy once more to pay tithes to the Catholic priests. Some heretics emigrated to Hungary; a printer of Lintz, who scattered his poison in that country, gave much trouble to Carafa.<sup>4</sup> In stiff-necked Carniola, which ought to have been converted nearly thirty years earlier, it was ordained that heretical preachers should be hanged at once on the nearest tree. In Bohemia, so late as 1626, it was found that very little fruit had been gathered in; Hussites and Lutherans were always hoping for some deliverer from abroad; but Wallenstein's appearance soon put an end to

<sup>1</sup> *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 232, 253, 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 278, 288.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 321, 322.

these hopes. Carafa boasts that he had some hand in the Imperial decree, which now banished all Lutheran barons, unless they changed their faith; he sets out at full length this decree of 1627. Later in the year Ferdinand came to Prague, and there ordered that henceforth the Bohemian clergy should form a fourth order, ranking above the lords, knights, and burghers; this was one of the last of Carafa's improvements. Ferdinand's victims sometimes showed themselves restive; in 1628 there was a conspiracy to murder him when hunting; four thousand soldiers were sent against the plotters, some of whom underwent fearful torments.<sup>1</sup> Moravia saw many of her children banished; one baron was here deservedly put to death, long after his crime, which was the atrocious murder of the Roman Catholic Dean Sarcander.<sup>2</sup> Silesia, open to the constant inroads of the Northern Protestants, long held out against her tyrant; we need not wonder at her prompt acceptance of Prussian rule a hundred years later. The future order of events in Europe might have been altogether changed, had the report, mentioned by Carafa, been true, that the Elector of Brandenburg was coming over to Rome; he certainly showed himself most submissive to Cæsar in 1627, and deprived of their office some of his Calvinist ministers, who had stirred up the people; he replaced them with men by whom obedience to the Emperor was preached.<sup>3</sup> Amid all the smoke and havoc of the Thirty Years' War, a keen-eyed observer may espy Sadowa in the far distance; Hapsburg must in the end yield to Hohenzollern, however degenerate the Elector of 1627 may seem.

There was a dangerous foe in the South, who might at any moment upset all the plans of the Jesuits. The Turk might once more cross the Danube as of old, and strike in with good chance of success; but he had been hindered, first by a war with Poland, later by an expedition against Persia, undertaken, if we are to believe Carafa, by the wondrous instigation of God. From headquarters the

<sup>1</sup> *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 287, 296, 331, 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 344. For this hideous tale of torture see Pescheck, i. 300. He very fairly exposes the crimes of his own party.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 305.

Bashaw of Buda was sternly ordered to leave the Christians alone. Thus Cæsar was enabled to turn all his force against the Northern Protestants. Not many months after this, Carafa left Vienna;<sup>1</sup> he winds up his book with an expression of wonder at the mighty conquests achieved by the Faith within eight years; where dragons were wont to dwell, the peoples are henceforth to walk in the light of the Lord; the image of Dagon has fallen in both the Palatinates, nests of Calvinism; the fruits of religion have been gathered in, where before they were fearfully hindered by the freedom and the constitutions of the kingdom and by hateful Letters of Majesty. Pure Despotism was indeed something new in Bohemia and the neighbouring provinces. "I used to tell the Emperor and his councillors," says Carafa, "that no one ought to boast; all the praise must be given to God and His Mother alone."<sup>2</sup>

The mention of the Virgin leads us to a curious episode in the history of these awful times. Hardly had Carafa turned his back than Cæsar was guilty of a mighty usurpation in the Pope's domain. Being now in 1629 we can measure the change in the spiritual methods of the Hapsburgs within seventy years. The earlier Ferdinand had been constrained to beg from the Papacy the grant of the Cup to the laity in his dominions—a step towards Protestantism. Ferdinand II. now, without any reference to the Pope, established the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in the hereditary lands. This was done at the suggestion of the Emperor's confessor, Lammormain; the Austrian power never rose higher than in this year and the next, when, much to the Pope's sorrow, Mantua was taken by Ferdinand's fierce soldiery.<sup>3</sup>

Numerous were the exiles from Bohemia and her sister lands; they seem to have made their way into every Protestant country. The most renowned of them was Comenius (Komensky), so called from Komna, his birthplace. After

<sup>1</sup> *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 290. In 307 he gives a long list of the Sultan's titles; more than sixty countries are named; the Turk calls himself "successor of Cæsar, a second Alexander the Great."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 351, 352.

<sup>3</sup> Wiedemann, *Reformation*, i. 624.



seeing his library plundered by the Spanish soldiery, he fled to Poland, and published his *Janua Linguarum reserata*, which was translated in his lifetime into fifteen languages. He seems to have been regarded in England, Sweden, and Transylvania alike as the great authority of the age on education. Another famous Bohemian exile was Hollar the engraver, who died in England, seemingly in the most abject poverty.<sup>1</sup> Holyk, who wrote the "Bitter Tears of Bohemia," had been bred by the Jesuits, but later became a Dominican. He gives a long catalogue of monkish vices that he had seen with his own eyes. When an Inquisitor, he bethought him of his parents' Protestant creed, and strove to escape into Saxony. He was at first imprisoned by the friars, but at last succeeded in his attempt. Less happy was a brother friar named Ambrosius, who professed his disbelief in the Roman system when lecturing, and who therefore underwent an imprisonment underground of eighteen years, while often starved and flogged.<sup>2</sup> It was not the Hapsburg policy now to burn men alive.

The Bohemian exiles by degrees lost all hope of return to their homes. The Swedish Protestants repeatedly invaded Bohemia in the course of the long struggle, but were as terrible to friends as to foes. The peace of 1648 cut off all hope of religious freedom. It was now the Austrian game to prevent heretics from emigrating. The Roman Catholic Pelzel tells us, "History scarcely gives an instance of a nation being so changed within fifteen years as Bohemia was under Ferdinand II. In 1620 all the Bohemians were Protestants, except a few monks and nobles; at Ferdinand's death they were all, at least outwardly, Catholics. The States had possessed a power almost greater than that of the English Parliament. The whole of their privileges were taken from them in this short space of time. They used to be a valiant nation, but their valour was buried on the White Mountain, and they fled like sheep before the Swedes. The Bohemian tongue had been the pride of the nobility; it was now called the peasant's

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck, ii. 416, 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 55, 300, 308.

language. The University, in the hands of the Jesuits, became, as it were, abolished.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet all availed not to wholly stamp out Protestantism among the peasantry. They had not had an easy lot even before 1620; after that year they were in general a prey to foreigners, the new lords of Bohemia. The Bible was still secretly read, and good-natured priests, perhaps jealous of the Jesuits, winked hard at various Protestant ideas. We learn that so late as 1765 the number of secret heretics was very great. In and around Landskron, on the Lichtenstein domain, the Hussites were strong. Imprisoned Protestants were led about in chains (an example to others), and publicly flogged. The dungeon for life was a frequent punishment, and honourable burial was forbidden. Many Romanists showed their displeasure at these things, but could do nothing, the clergy having the sole control.<sup>2</sup>

The grim oppressor of Bohemia, Ferdinand II. died in 1637; he much resembled his kinsman Philip II. in his preference of the Cabinet to the field, in the warm love he attracted to himself from wife and children, in the alms which he delighted to distribute among true believers. The sources of Ferdinand's wealth were Spanish gold and Bohemian plunder. Few men have caused such havoc of human life, starting from his Styrian persecutions, which led up to the Thirty Years' War. His reign enables us to judge what Christendom owes to the Jesuits; many millions of men were either slaughtered or starved through the policy of this one man, who had but a mediocre intellect. His son Ferdinand III. was but a weak copy of the former Cæsar, who at least was magnanimous in days of disaster; the son was never pressed so hard as the father had been. One fault of Ferdinand II. had been wastefulness of money, especially for the behoof of monks and Jesuits; the expenses of his Court were at once cut down by more than half. The Thirty Years' War ended, as it had begun, at Prague, which made a most stubborn defence against a sudden onset of the Swedes. The new Emperor at last agreed upon

<sup>1</sup> Pescheck, ii. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Evangelical Palm-tree, quoted by Pescheck, ii. 147, 329.

terms of peace with the Protestants, making many concessions in the North and West, while firmly refusing to allow any toleration of Protestants in Bohemia and Austria, though some districts of Silesia were more mildly dealt with.<sup>1</sup> When the overtures leading to the Peace of Westphalia were being made, a petition was read from these Southern Protestants, asking for restitution of all churches, schools, and hospitals, with their revenues, as granted by the dear-bought Royal letters and patents. But Cæsar's envoy made answer: "His Imperial Majesty would rather lay down life and crown, and even see his sons slain before his eyes, than allow worship after the Augsburg Confession, or the independence of the nobles in his hereditary dominions." The negotiations for peace nearly split upon this point, but the Swedes at last gave way. The Protestant nobles in Austria were not guiltless; they had been most oppressive to their peasants, and had been very loose in their morality. Most of them soon went over to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Ferdinand III. was in 1657 succeeded by his son Leopold, who had all the persecuting spirit of his grandfather, with none of that Cæsar's redeeming qualities, when guiding the State. Widely different was the way in which the two men faced disaster. Yet, strange to say, under this contemptible Jesuit-ridden Leopold, Austria greatly widened her borders at the cost of the Turks; he had the sense to employ Montecuculi, Lorraine and Eugene. The new Cæsar was under the sway of the Jesuits who had been his teachers; he was a perfect pattern of the despot and the bigot combined. Music was his recreation; more than once a placard was found on his gates with the words, "Leopold, be a Cæsar and not a musician; be a Cæsar and not a Jesuit."<sup>3</sup>

The new reign began well with a great victory won over the Turks by Montecuculi in 1664, though at the peace that followed all the advantages went to the Mussulmans, and Hungary still lay in ruins; her history may be now

<sup>1</sup> Coxe, *House of Austria*, iii. 242.

<sup>2</sup> See Vehse's account of Ferdinand III., i. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Léger's *Austro-Hungary*, 268.

combined with that of Austria and Bohemia; everything henceforth seems to depend upon the Vienna Court and its Jesuit councillors. All the realms subject to this Court suffered in turn; in 1663 the Tartars had been let loose by the Sultan on Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia, where they had sacked and burned, carrying away one hundred and sixty thousand captives in one year.<sup>1</sup>

Little happiness remained for those whom the scymitar had spared; the Magyar Protestants made their complaints in the National Diet, but the Crown would do nothing. In despair they withdrew from the Diet altogether, followed by others who cared more for Hungary than for their ghostly Father at Rome. Even after Montecuculi's victory, when peace was made, the Turks were able to exact tribute from Vienna, and to maintain their candidate in Transylvania.<sup>2</sup> Sullen discontent prevailed through Hungary, for the foreign troops employed by the Crown were fully as oppressive to the country as the Turks were.<sup>3</sup> In this state of things the nobles saw no means of escape, unless by resorting to a widespread conspiracy, one of the most curious facts in history. It seemed to be time for strong measures when the Vienna courtiers were talking of fitting the Hungarians with Bohemian clothes; another year like 1620 seemed to be at hand. Some of the great nobles formed a plot, in which not only the Protestants but the

<sup>1</sup> Rycaut, from whom I take this, says in p. 108 of his *Ottoman Empire*, that an exact account of the names, ages, and countries of the captives was taken to prevent any cheating.

<sup>2</sup> There is a small book, *A Brief Chronicle of the Turkish War*, printed in 1664, "turned out of High Dutch." This, in p. 98, gives a Turkish prayer which shows that the Turk well knew the great source of his success: "The Christians, like mad dogs, worry one another; (grant) that they may become yet more like unto mad dogs, amazing and confounding one another."

<sup>3</sup> For this reign may be consulted the bulky Spanish volumes *Admirables Efectos de la Providencia sucedidos en la vida e imperio de Leopoldo Primero*, Milan, 1696. The writer, who hates Protestantism, confesses that Cæsar would not observe the statutes of the Kingdom, which enjoined freedom of conscience, *a cuyo punto se oponia tan fieramente el ministerio Cesareo a instigacion sin duda de los reiterados e importunos consejos de los Padres de la Compañia* (the Jesuits), i. 182. German cruelty is denounced, as also is the preaching of the Protestant ministers, always on the side of freedom. A Roman Catholic monk was their agent with the Turks, i. 257.

fiercest persecutors of Protestantism (the wealthy Nadasdy for instance) took part. Even Croatia furnished two noble plotters, one of whom bore the distinguished name of Zrinyi; the Wallachs fought on Cæsar's side. The conspirators were betrayed, and in 1671 were tried and executed by foreign judges, against all law; much property was confiscated. The Pope in vain interceded for Nadasdy, who had done much for the faith. The Emperor declares that many Prelates favoured the plot; Nadasdy, a fair specimen of the high-born ruffian, in his sentence is accused of having plotted against Cæsar's life.<sup>1</sup> Three hundred nobles, chiefly Protestants, were condemned to various punishments. Churches were torn from their possessors, and fierce Croats were let loose on the land; the persecution waxed hot in Presburg. Some of the despoiled heretics recovered their churches and schools by the help of the Turks. We gladly remark that in 1671 the great Hungarian Prelates made a forcible remonstrance to Leopold against his despotic acts; the tyranny of the German soldiers was not to be borne.<sup>2</sup>

In 1675 we have a sketch of the Vienna Court from the hand of Isaiah Puffendorff; it was read before the Swedish King and Council. Leopold is described as a man of scrupulous conscience, but his teachers had persuaded him that he was bound to bring his heretical subjects by any means into the true fold. He was devoted to hunting and music, but still applied himself steadily to business. The Spanish Ambassador had a great sway, and could influence the Emperor without the knowledge of the Austrian ministers. By Spanish counsels Prince Lobkowitz was suddenly hurled from power, and was replaced by the soldier Montecuculi. Another powerful minister, Hocher, was devoted to the Spaniards and the Jesuits. The Capuchin father, Emmerich, had vast influence at Court; he remonstrated in vain against the violent doings of the

<sup>1</sup> *Admirables Efectos de la Providencia sucedidos en la vida e imperio de Leopoldo Primero*, iii. 257, 259, 264. There is much talk of *la gran tenacidad de los Ungaros*.

<sup>2</sup> Michiels, *Secret History*, 133, 137. One of the Palfys was an agent of German oppression.



Jesuits in Silesia and Hungary.<sup>1</sup> These fathers had done their best to effect the disgrace of Lobkowitz; their head, Muller by name, was an immoral pedant. The Emperor might have a clear revenue of six million of dollars yearly, though ever since the conquest of Bohemia vast sums had been wasted on the clergy. The ministers made great fortunes at the expense of the Treasury. Leopold had in 1673 an army of sixty thousand men, paid by the States of the country; Spain had proposed to pay a large portion of these, to be employed for her benefit. Bavaria, the most powerful German State, could maintain only fifteen thousand men; the only safety of Germany was affirmed to be the Emperor's despotic power. It was hoped that the Turkish strength was now decaying, since the Janissaries were no longer recruited by the tribute of Christian children, a burden which had been found to depopulate the country too much.<sup>2</sup>

Leopold was senseless enough to persecute his Hungarian subjects in the midst of a war with France. One of his exploits was in 1675; he seized about forty Protestant pastors, and after a mock trial sent them to the galleys at Naples.<sup>3</sup> Collections were made for them in England and elsewhere. At length the Dutch fleet, in those days the ally of Spain and Austria, sailed into Naples, and the great De Ruyter with some trouble obtained the freedom of these confessors, by that time in a most loathsome plight. He thus addressed the Lutheran and Calvinist pastors before him: "Live in thorough union; that will be the best thanks I can have."<sup>4</sup>

Hungary now seemed likely to end as Styria, Austria, and Bohemia had done before. In 1677 a German General, Kops, not only hanged but impaled several of the rebels; this proved too much even for the Court of Vienna.<sup>5</sup> A young champion, Tökely, came forward, and in 1680 achieved some successes against the German oppressors in Northern Hungary; the rebels wreaked their vengeance on the priests and Jesuits. Tökely laid down as conditions of

<sup>1</sup> There is here mention of *consilia Hispano-Jesuitica*.

<sup>2</sup> See Puffendorff's State paper in Keysler's *Travels*, iv. 40-57.

<sup>3</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 181-216.

<sup>4</sup> *La Vie de l'Amiral De Ruiter*, published in 1698, p. 679.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires du Comte Niklos*, ii. 95.

peace that the Hungarian constitution and Palatine should be restored, that the Protestants should regain their lost churches, and that good faith should be henceforth observed. A great Diet was held at Oedenberg in 1681; out of 314 members, only 45 were Protestants; Esterhazy was elected Palatine, much to the joy of the Court. The Protestants laid their complaints before King Leopold; little was to be hoped from the Prelates, but the lay Roman Catholics voted in favour of their oppressed countrymen. The King made a decree, keeping for his own party all the churches robbed from the Protestants since 1670; no religion was to be insulted. At this the Prelates were furious, not being satisfied with the fact that they had taken no fewer than 888 churches from the rightful owners. The Diet was closed, leaving the heretics to make a useless protest. They had had fierce enemies to contend against in the Prelates; the Primate, not the only persecutor, boasted that by his own efforts he had rescued 63,000 souls of heretics from damnation.<sup>1</sup> The peasants of Hungary, unlike those of Poland, were regarded as something better than hogs; hence their conversion to Protestantism and subsequent reconversion to Rome. Owing to the forcible methods used in this Seventeenth Century, the Protestants are in our day a minority among the Magyars.

Tököly, having no trust in the Emperor-King and his Jesuits, placed himself under the protection of the Sultan. The bold rebel was thus enabled to overrun all the North, and to restore the churches to the Protestants, a short-lived boon. He led not only Hungarians, but Transylvanians, Wallachians, and Moldavians. In the summer of 1683 the great Turkish host, passing by impregnable Comorn on the Danube, beleaguered Vienna; the Turkish empire, which had lately conquered Candia and Kaminiec, now reached its loftiest height. Leopold fled from his capital in abject fright, insulted on his road by the despairing peasants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Protestant Church of Hungary*, 220-238.

<sup>2</sup> A French Bishop, a connection of the Polish Queen, made a good epigram upon the occasion:

Dignior Imperio numne Austrius? anne Polonus?  
Odrysius acies hic fugat, ille fugit.

The Duke of Lorraine, forefather of the present ruler of Austria, now took the place of Montecuculi, while the Turkish light troops dragged away many thousands of Austrians to be sold as slaves. The details of the great siege are well known; the true cause of the rescue of Vienna was the Grand Vizier's avarice; he was aware of the fact that vast riches were stored up in the city, and that these would be pillaged by his troops in the event of a successful assault; he therefore strove to drive the besieged to a capitulation.<sup>1</sup> The Poles, Saxons, Bavarians, and Austrians who relieved Vienna numbered about one half of the Turks. The 12th of September 1683 is one of the great landmarks of European history; the Turk then fell from his old pinnacle, as the Spaniard had done forty years earlier. Leopold came back to Vienna after the work had been thoroughly done by Sobieski and Lorraine; the meeting between the Emperor and his Northern deliverer has often been described; never were dull-witted boor and bold knight brought into more glaring contrast. Tökely strove in vain to teach the Vienna Government common sense; he, a Protestant, wrote to Pope Innocent XI. explaining how the Hungarians were against their will driven into the arms of the Turk.<sup>2</sup> As time went on Lorraine took Buda, and in 1687 he won the battle of Mohacz, on the ground that had beheld the ruin of Christian Hungary 161 years earlier. Sobieski in vain besought mercy for Tökely and his partisans; the Court seemed bent on new confiscations. The Turks, rather earlier, had thrown their great Hungarian ally into prison, a fatal mistake on their part, as his followers went over to the Imperial side, and he could never recover the lost ground.

In this year, 1687, was opened "the bloody assize of Eperies," in the North. Nothing in Christian history has ever come up to this if the achievements of Eccelin da Romano, Vlad V. of Wallachia, and two or three Russian Czars be excepted; Alva, as a general rule, abstained from

<sup>1</sup> Dalcraç, who was one of the relieving army. See his *History of Sobieski*, 59.

<sup>2</sup> See the substance of this letter in the *Memoirs of Count Tökely* (printed in 1693), 2nd part, p. 8.

wanton torture. Caraffa, a Neapolitan, who called himself "the scourge of God for the Hungarians," aided by some Jesuits, set up his Court in the North; he then invited denunciations against former rebels and those known to be rich. Some harlots were found, who testified to a pretended plot. The most fearful tortures were inflicted to wring confessions from his luckless victims, Catholics and Protestants; wires at a white heat were thrust into the holes in their bodies while he, before their eyes, was toying with women. These shambles were prolonged for nine months. The wives and friends of the patriots hastened to beg mercy at Vienna, and obtained reprieves; Caraffa gave no heed to these, but showed an Imperial autograph which advised that no attention should be paid to any counter orders from Vienna.<sup>1</sup> Was there ever in this world a baser ruler than Leopold, whom his flatterers named the Great? It is no wonder that the Protestants would rather hear the Allah of the Moslem than the Alleluia of the Papists, as the phrase ran.<sup>2</sup> So fierce was the persecution that emigration set in and the revenues fell off. "Robbers, Calvinists, and Turks I will not tolerate," wrote a Bishop in 1690. Cardinal Kollonitz was a great persecutor; he obtained from Rome a special license permitting the Palatine Esterhazy to marry a niece, the license being granted on condition that the uncle should exert his vast power to banish heresy from the Empire. He was the richest landholder in Hungary, and abused his influence to the utmost, forcing his religion upon whole villages, and setting aside the law of the land.<sup>3</sup> Some of the highest nobles in Hungary have from age to age basely betrayed their country's true interest. The Magyars at one time were almost all Calvinists; in our day the Protestants among them are only a minority; hence we see what the nobles and Prelates have been able to effect.

Transylvania in 1691 began to share in the woes of

<sup>1</sup> Caraffa was rewarded with the Golden Fleece, and with a command in North Italy. He went mad, constantly howling "Eperies, Eperies!" and died five years after his great exploit.—See Vehse, *Court of Austria*, ii. 59.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoirs of Count Tököly*, ii. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 252.



Hungary. Up to that date all religions had flourished in peace side by side. Leopold, when uniting the Eastern realm to his dominions, bound himself to respect religious freedom. But a Roman Catholic Bishop soon appeared (there had been none for a Century) in Transylvania; colleges and tithes were confiscated, and the usual game was renewed in the far East.

Meanwhile England had been snatched out of the French alliance and cast into the Austrian scale; as we see by the letters of his envoy at Vienna, William III. was an object of intense interest at that city from 1688 onward. It is amusing to find the persecuting Jesuit-ridden Court eager for toleration in England. William's moderation in that country, we learn from Hop the Dutch envoy, had given great delight in Austria, even to the most bigoted; the Pope's Nuncio had openly professed his satisfaction. This moderation, Hop says, was not shown to the Hungarian Protestants; even at Vienna, Protestant merchants, the most substantial men of the town, could not attend worship at the foreign Ministers' without risk of a fine of three hundred crowns.<sup>1</sup> "The poor Protestants in Hungary are barbarously treated," writes Lord Lexington in 1697. "They are up in arms to the number of ten thousand men, declaring for religion, liberty, and property. If they will not change the barbarous usage, both in religion and civil matters, they now show the Hungarians, one time or other they will entirely throw off the Emperor's dominion."<sup>2</sup>

Tökely issued a stirring proclamation to his countrymen; after denouncing the baseness of the Palatine Esterhazy, and recounting his own sufferings in the cause of Hungary, he goes on: "Is there one among you who can boast of having lost neither a parent, a brother, or a kinsman in Caraffa's massacres? Look at the Prince of Transylvania, stripped of his dignities in spite of his treaties with the Emperor. Do you know of one pledge of Leopold's that has been redeemed? His treaties, promises, and amnesties were nought but snares to catch you."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lexington Papers*, 328, 339, 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 272, 276.

<sup>3</sup> Szabad's *Hungary Past and Present*, 137-139.



These words were uttered in vain. Austria, with her usual luck, now lighted upon a leader greater than even Montecuculi or Lorraine. Prince Eugene, a man most different from the average Vienna bigot, showed his full powers against the Turks at Zenta, a field which led up to the peace of 1699, whereby the Infidel yielded almost all Hungary to the Emperor. Tökely died in a foreign land, where he was long a prisoner, but his mantle fell on young Ragotski, when Leopold's oppressions once more drove Hungary into revolt in 1703. The trumpet of the new leader, though he had been bred by the Jesuits, gave no uncertain sound. "The extortions of Vienna have driven some to suicide, while others, to meet the rapacity of foreign officials, have sold their wives and children to the Turks. Have you forgotten Austria's old policy, to persecute religion in defiance of all law, as in Bohemia. The Aulic Council has swallowed up all our institutions; even our national assembly is taken away. I myself have been dragged before an illegal tribunal, and assailed by false evidence; but I was delivered like Daniel of old. Let the Hungarian arms be displayed in the sight of the Christian world."<sup>1</sup>

The Hungarians rose once more, and in 1704 they marched on Vienna from the East, while the French and Bavarians were coming up from the West. All seemed lost, but a deliverer was once more at hand; Blenheim was won; and the Hapsburgs were safe for the next thirty-six years. This great victory over the French led to another victory over the Hungarians, stubborn patriots who had risen against the corrupt Vienna Government six times within one century. Is there anything in the history of mankind to match the oppression caused by the three Habsburg

<sup>1</sup> Szabad, *Hungary Past and Present*, 153-155. There is a *Histoire du Prince Ragotzi*, published at Paris in 1707; it bears Fontenelle's *imprimatur*. Hence we learn more of the meanness of the Vienna Government (p. 43). The Prince escaped from his prison; a monk, who used to write to him, was imprisoned for life, though guiltless of his escape. The postmaster of Raab was banished, because he had not recognised the Prince on his passage, and had given horses to an unknown man.

Princes whom we have just reviewed, Ferdinand II., Ferdinand III., and Leopold I. ?

Austria owed no small part of its success over the Turks and Magyars to the thousands of brave Servians who crossed the Danube at Leopold's invitation; he had promised them the free exercise of their Greek religion. The Patriarch Arsenius accepted this offer, and nearly forty thousand Servian families settled in Slavonia, where they have since those days been a most useful instrument in the hands of Viennese statesmen.<sup>1</sup> Over these strangers the German, not the feudal Magyar, was to bear rule.

But the Jesuits were not satisfied with the creed of the new comers. An attempt was made to set up a rival to the Patriarch, and to create an United Greek Church, as in Poland. In 1699 Leopold, treacherous as ever, confirmed the usurper as Bishop of Sirmia and Lower Slavonia. In Transylvania the Greek clergy were bullied into submission to Rome; it was only in 1759 that the Vienna Court held its hand, after long persecuting those who scorned the Union. Priests were thrown into prison, where many died of hunger; others were flogged. The Servians took up arms against this system, very different from that of their old Turkish lords.<sup>2</sup>

In 1705 died Leopold the Great, a man as amiable in private life as he was detestable in most of his public actions. One of his best deeds was that he refused to entrust the Jesuits with the education of his son Joseph.<sup>3</sup> The reconquest of nearly all Hungary is Leopold's great achievement; he owed much to two deliverers, one coming from the North-East, the other from the North-West.

An observer of the time allows us a peep at Vienna about this period. The Jesuits had three churches there,

<sup>1</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 68, 75. I wonder that the author of so good a book never put his name to it. This emigration had begun two hundred and fifty years earlier; under Pope Eugenius IV. there was an Inquisition in Slavonia for the special benefit of the Servian schismatics (*ibid.* 35).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 84, 86, 117. These brave champions of Vienna are described in p. 87 as *homines ex sua religione Catholicis infensissimi, totoque animo alienissimi*.

<sup>3</sup> Coxe, *House of Austria*, iii. 481.

and filled many of the chairs of the University, which was not much frequented. The citizens were debauched and drunken, but very devout in the churches. The Cathedral was stuffed full of altars, wherever they could be put; this was a usage against which the French clergy set their faces. It had been proposed to seize the surplus plate belonging to the churches; but this the Pope, an abettor of France, would not allow; though the war with the Hungarians, being a struggle against liberty of conscience, might be called a war of religion. Ragotski insisted on the banishment of the Jesuits; what they had done in Bohemia was a beacon for others; the Czech peasantry were ground down by their nobles beyond anything known in France or Germany; these despots were of foreign blood, but had great influence at Court.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph I. succeeded his father at the age of six-and-twenty. He showed himself most hostile to the Jesuits, but not averse to women. He was by no means a good subject to the Pope. It must be allowed that the Hungarian war, which went on throughout this reign, much to the advantage of the French, was due rather to Ragotski than to Joseph. Much more liberty was now granted to the Protestants; their superintendents once more began their work. The Diet of Onod was summoned by Ragotski; here Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians were declared to have equal rights. No attention seems to have been paid to the Greek Church, the heritage of the Wallachs, always a most down-trodden race. The Servians throughout the war fought bravely for Vienna against the accursed Calvinists.<sup>2</sup> Joseph held a rival Diet at Presburg in 1708; here the Hungarian Catholics refused all toleration to their brethren, even disregarding Joseph's request. In 1709 he directed that priests should abstain from secret persecutions, and that the articles of former Diets should be explained in a literal sense. In this way many of Ragotski's Protes-

<sup>1</sup> Freschot, *Mémoires of la Cour de Vienne*, published in 1705. See pp. 22, 81, 86, 226, 231.

<sup>2</sup> See the Servian ballad quoted in *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 98; here the Magyars appear as "Calvinists."

tant followers were won over, while the Roman Catholics deserted their chosen leader in crowds after he had been banned by the Pope. In 1710 Joseph corrected the persecuting spirit of the Prelates. Ragotski was at last driven out of Hungary; the Peace of Szathmar was signed in 1711, and guaranteed by England and Holland; perfect freedom was now granted to the Protestants. Joseph died about this time, too early for the good of Austria; it was Joseph's father who, by driving Ragotski to despair, prevented Austria from acquiring Alsace and Lille at the Peace of Utrecht. Bolingbroke often gives us his opinion upon the Austrian system as it was in his day. The Jesuits at Vienna were truly of great use to their brethren at Paris.<sup>1</sup>

The new King of Hungary was Joseph's brother, known as Charles VI. He had much trouble throughout his reign to protect his Protestant subjects, as he earnestly strove to do. The Bishops were hostile as ever, and even some of the Roman Catholic laity. The Jesuits declared that the part of Hungary which had been under Turkish rule had no claim to share in the toleration edicts.<sup>2</sup> About this time Prince Eugene, a great advocate of Moderation, reconquered Temeswar and the Banat; Hungary was now at last as it had been 200 years earlier. The report of the debates upon the question of toleration, simple as it seems, fills many folio volumes. Yet there were other victims besides the Protestants. In 1723 the proud Magyar Diet reduced the Servian immigrants to the condition of serfs, binding them to the soil; the Orthodox Greeks were treated like the Protestants. Yet these men had come to the help of Austria in her sore need. They supplied the place of the Wallachs and others who had fled away when the Turk first settled in the Banat, where he built his mosques, laid on the poll tax, and oppressed the native Christians in every way. Many villages, mentioned in the old chronicles, had been wholly wiped out by the Moslem lords of the

<sup>1</sup> Ragotski, after his defeat, lived and died abroad, though he might have had a quiet life in Hungary. He thus resembled Kossuth in our own age.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church of Hungary*, 264-304.

land; vast morasses had been allowed to take the place of tilled fields. Mosques were now, after Prince Eugene's reconquest, turned into churches.<sup>1</sup> But oppression went on, and of course the new colonists preferred the rule of the Vienna Government to that of the haughty Magyars, who looked upon them as serfs, not as soldiers. A Servian revolt broke out in 1734, and was cruelly punished; many of this race now left for Russia.<sup>2</sup>

The Emperor Charles became more of a persecutor as he grew older; wholesale robbery of churches went on, though sometimes noblemen, at the head of their vassals, would withstand a priest. All the Protestant States appealed to Charles, but could effect little. Transylvania had long been barred against the Jesuits, but they had of late been able to effect an entrance. Many patriotic champions were arrested in 1735, and kept in prison for four years. The Jesuits were still powerful at Vienna; they endeavoured to put a stop to a valuable historical and geographical work upon Hungary compiled by Bel, a Protestant minister, with maps and plans taken by the best engineers. A court of inquisition sat upon the author, who proved that he had been driven from the land by Ragotski's rebellion. The Jesuits were reprimanded, and Bel was awarded a large pension by the Emperor. No Protestant was capable of employment in the Imperial mines in Northern Hungary; in some places they were driven into the Romish churches like sheep. In some counties they were allowed only two churches on a precarious tenure. The Catholics were here but one-fourth of the population. A Bishop had lately published a work urging the extirpation of all heretics. In the late wars Hungarian Bibles had become very scarce; hence about 1716 the town of Debreczin undertook to have a new edition printed in Holland. The Emperor gave permission for the entrance of the new work; but the Jesuits obtained

<sup>1</sup> Böhm, *Geschichte des Temeser Banats*, 125, 210, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Léger, *Austro-Hungary*, 343-346. In Southern Hungary there were seven Greek non-united Sees; they seem later to have undergone little persecution from authority, though a conspiracy to murder all that were not of their religion was detected in 1808. See Böhm, *Temeser Banats*, i. 309, 313.



the recall of the permission until it should be proved that the imported Bibles altogether agreed with the Vulgate. The Protestants had no press either in Hungary or Transylvania, that old land of light; the importation of all doctrinal books was forbidden. Most of the nobles had now returned to Rome. Little enlightenment resulted from all this; even so late as 1730 a magistrate, with thirty-five other persons, was burnt for witchcraft in a Protestant village near the great fortress of Comorn, which the Turks could never take; Keysler, passing that way, heard the particulars of the judicial murder.<sup>1</sup> There were many Protestant communities in Moravia; the members were forced to go to Mass and worship the Host. But they held private religious meetings, though these were often betrayed. They had to go into Hungary whenever they wished to take the Sacrament.<sup>2</sup> The Jesuits had thriven in Bohemia since 1620; in Prague they had one of their largest convents, though surpassed by those at Goa and Lisbon. The whole number of the Fathers at Prague were three hundred, and their schools were very full. There were a hundred churches, and almost as many convents, in the city, which contained seventy thousand Christians and fifty thousand Jews.<sup>3</sup>

The life led by Charles at Vienna must have resembled that of his father; we have a description of it by the French Ambassador, the Duke de Richelieu. "I have lived here during Lent a pious life, without a quarter of an hour a day at liberty; the Emperor, under pretext of invitations and presentations at chapel, makes ambassadors follow him like so many valets. Only a Capuchin in the rudest state of health could resist this life during Lent. I was one hundred hours at church with the Emperor between Palm Sunday and the Wednesday after Easter. I confess to a belief that devotion requires a little more liberty; this unheard-of restraint, unknown at any other Court in the world, is to me something unbearable."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his *Travels*, iv. 61, 74-80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 86, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Richelieu's, given by Michiels, *Secret History of the Austrian Government*, 253.

The Emperor is described by Keysler about 1730 as a great musician and fond of hunting; he still wore the Spanish dress; the young Archduchess (Maria Theresa) was particularly distinguished for her wit and good sense. Prince Eugene had the finest palace in Vienna, with gardens and a menagerie: he bestowed vast sums on books and prints, being fond of reading. About twenty thousand persons were in attendance upon the High Court of Vienna; many of these were Protestants; and there were often conversions to Rome, in hopes of pensions or employment.<sup>1</sup>

The crowned devotee of Vienna, rather later, waged against the Turks a shameful war, ending in a shameful peace, whereby Belgrade and all Servia were restored to the Porte. It was well seen that Prince Eugene was now in his grave, after having been for thirty-nine years the greatest subject in the land; he it was who made Austria one of the Four great powers of Europe in 1720. The chief exploit of Austrian policy in the late war was to set Greek against Greek; for the Servians massacred all their Wallach prisoners and burnt fifty Wallach villages; these unlucky Wallachs had taken the side of the Turks.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishopric of Salzburg was a near neighbour to the Hapsburgs; it had been kept in peace, an oasis in the land, by the wise Prelate Paris Lodron, while all the rest of Germany was made a prey to fire and sword for thirty years. Many of the Salzburger were Lutherans, bent upon free inquiry. They had been disgusted by the debauchery of the priests, and persecution by degrees grew hotter. In 1731 the Emperor quartered his troops upon the unlucky peasants, who appealed in vain to the Diet at Ratisbon and to the statutes of the Peace of Westphalia. Later in the year the Government banished all peasants who did not abjure heresy. Thirty-two thousand sold their lands at a heavy loss and sought refuge in Northern Germany; the Prussian King gave a home to many of them; the free cities showed themselves most generous to the exiles. The

<sup>1</sup> There is a notice of water carts to lay the dust on a much-frequented road.—Keysler, iv. 32. See also 13, 22, 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 113.

diocese of Salzburg was a heavy loser by this religious bigotry; mines were abandoned and fields went out of cultivation. Archbishop Firmian stands out as the last persecutor in Europe who inflicted a heavy blow upon his subjects by banishing the most valuable part of them on account of their religion. After Firmian's day, Princes seem to have been endowed with more wisdom, and the Jesuits never regained their old power.<sup>1</sup>

Education in Austria, in the hands of these fathers, degenerated as much as it did in Poland. The great nobles in self-defence sent their sons to study in the Lutheran and Calvinist universities of the North. Thus were trained many Vienna statesmen during this Century, especially the renowned Kaunitz, who pursued his studies in the North, and thus trod in the steps of his father and grandfather. He showed no tenderness to the Jesuits when for them the day of reckoning came. A rival Order was now rising in Austrian estimation; the Benedictines were publishing some of their most prized volumes dealing with the history of Austria. The Abbeys on the Danube were plainly eager to rival the works of the learned Muratori.<sup>2</sup>

Charles VI. died in 1740, the last heir-male of the Hapsburgs, Emperors for three hundred years. His renowned daughter, Maria Theresa, carried his hereditary crowns into the house of Lorraine. She found that half of Europe was bent upon partitioning her dominions; she soon lost Silesia, thus atoning for the sins of her forefathers, who had sore worried the Protestants of that province. Not long afterwards the French and Bavarians, once more allies, seized upon Bohemia. The noble Queen had one resource alone—the loyalty of the Hungarians. She had already restored their mediæval privileges, abolished by her grandfather Leopold; she was a few months later crowned at Presburg in 1741; later still came the famous scene when the Magyar nobles vowed that they would die for their King, Maria Theresa. All was changed in a moment; Magyars, Croats, Servians flocked to her standard

<sup>1</sup> For the share of the Jesuits in the Salzburg business see Bühler, *Salzburg und seine Fürsten*, 167.

<sup>2</sup> Michiels, 322, 339.

and recovered Bohemia; the wiliest enemy of all was bought off with Silesia; and in 1748, after much sharp fighting, the Hungarian Queen stood in possession, with this one exception, of nearly all the dominions left at her father's death.<sup>1</sup>

Even before the famous scene, the Hungarian Protestants laid long lists of complaints before their Sovereign. She gave them no redress; they had to wait forty years longer for a system of toleration. Their books were confiscated, and on one occasion they were ordered to destroy their Catechism.<sup>2</sup> The repair of Protestant churches was forbidden in Hungary, just as the repair of Catholic churches has been forbidden in the old Polish territory in our own age. The nobles flogged their vassals to cure them of heretical practices. Schools might be shut up, yet there was no crushing the Protestant intellect. One Jesuit, known as "the bloody miscreant," was famous for converting the children of mixed marriages. Pastors were whipped in the streets. One of these, named Bohil, fled from his prison in Northern Hungary to Breslau, and published a book to arouse Protestant sympathy for his countrymen.<sup>3</sup> The pedantic folly of the authorities regulating the most minute points, if heresy could in any way be hampered, sets forth clearly the reason why Austria has lagged behind Prussia in the race for empire.<sup>4</sup>

The great Prussian King in 1751 issued a letter wherein he imputes the persecution not to the Queen of Hungary but to the Bishops. Benedict XIV. behaved as might have been expected; he consulted with the Cardinals, and declared that he could not approve of the exertions of the priests in Hungary; he had, however, to be cautious, or he might be called a protector of Lutherans. Maria Theresa showed much annoyance at her oppressed subjects appealing to foreign powers.<sup>5</sup> Benedict unhappily made

<sup>1</sup> She had to give up the Duchy of Parma to a Spaniard.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Tristissima Ecclesiæ Hungariæ facies*. See *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 324.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Protestants might build a church of wood, but without any foundation of stone, and without a vestry.—*Ibid.* 328.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 329, 332.

way for a Pope most unlike himself, as we see by the Bull sent by Clement XIII., with a consecrated sword, to Daun after a victory gained by that somewhat sluggish hero in the Seven Years' War. Clement exalts Daun above Eugene; with that sword all stinking Satanic heresy is to be rooted out; the accursed seed of Luther and Calvin is to be annihilated. King Frederick, as may be imagined, made merry over this Papal Bull, a gem of purest water.<sup>1</sup>

But Maria Theresa had in her army an officer far above Daun in genius, had he only been allowed fair play. The Livonian Loudon, with Scipio and Wellington, forms a small and peculiar class of generals; they are not in the very highest class of all, but they are everywhere recognised as no unfair match for the greatest commanders that the world has ever seen. Had Loudon been entrusted with full powers there can be little doubt that he, being far superior in numbers, would have dashed the Great Frederick to pieces; the field of Liegnitz, where the two grappled together, is among the most interesting of all battles. But the blundering Austrian Court was utterly unworthy to possess such a hero. It was Loudon who planned the most dashing feat achieved by the arms of the Empress Queen throughout the whole war—the storm of Schweidnitz under the nose of such an enemy as Frederick. But the Empress Queen all but recalled the conqueror from the field of glory because he had presumed to deal this stroke without the sanction of the pedants of the Aulic Council.<sup>2</sup> If Maria Theresa, more of a man than most of her house, could be guilty of such folly, what must the government of the common run of Hapsburgs have been?

Under her rule, about the middle of the Century, a hundred thousand Servians (so it is said) had emigrated to Russia, where they were gladly welcomed, and where they could enjoy the rites of their beloved Greek Church free from the intrigues of Pope or Jesuit. These intrigues were hateful to at least one Austrian minister, Bartenstein, who seems to have been the Mentor of Maria Theresa's eldest son. This statesman would have no religious perse-

<sup>1</sup> *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 337.    <sup>2</sup> *Malleon's Life of Loudon*, 181.



cution; but, on the other hand, he absurdly wished to thoroughly Germanise the many nations who looked to Vienna for guidance. Two of these nations, sister nations, were now at variance; the Croats, loyal as ever to Rome, were eager to oppress the Servian Schismatics.<sup>1</sup> Transylvania was at this time by no means so happy as she had been two hundred years earlier, when she had shone as a beacon to all Europe in the matter of religious toleration. The nobles being mostly Protestant, there was less oppression here than in Hungary. Still the Empress Queen turned a deaf ear to many complaints of these Eastern subjects of hers; the Jesuits had as poisonous an influence here as elsewhere, and oppression went on. Rights granted to Jews and Greeks were refused to Protestants. A fanatical pamphlet was allowed to circulate for many years, teaching that it is lawful to compel men by any means to adopt the Roman creed. The Primate of Hungary did his best to prevent students from seeking foreign universities.<sup>2</sup>

But the evil system was already beginning to break down. In his mother's lifetime the Emperor Joseph travelled over the land, watching the strange state of things under Jesuit rule; he talked in Latin for several hours with Szilaggi, the Protestant superintendent of Debreczin, and the way was paved for many a wholesome edict in time to come. Countless petitions poured in upon the reforming Emperor. He rejoiced over the abolition of the Jesuits, remarking that "the affection for this Order is hereditary in the house of Hapsburg. It was their intolerance that brought on Germany the Thirty Years' War." He speaks of the Pope who abolished them as "the Great Clement." The last years of Maria Theresa were years of improvement; money was actually returned to Protestants who had been robbed, and lawsuits were now and then decided in their favour. The abolition of the Jesuits was perhaps of more practical benefit to Hungary than to any other land.<sup>3</sup>

Their power had already been sapped by the writings of the Swabian Riegger, who became a Professor at Vienna

<sup>1</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 126, 136, 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestant Church of Hungary*, 339, 351.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 342-350.

in 1756, and was held in high honour at Court, though the Jesuits frowned. His works (those of a Liberal Catholic) served as the groundwork of many a reforming edict by the Empress Queen; the authority of the Pope over the clergy was limited; the number of Saints' days was diminished; trials for witchcraft ceased; the dungeons of Monasteries and the right of asylum were suppressed. Few men have done so much good in the world as Riegger; on his death-bed, with almost his latest breath, he quoted the text which distinguishes between Cæsar and God.<sup>1</sup>

The Second Joseph, not unlike the First, succeeded his mother in 1780, and found his dominions increased by a large slice of Poland; the outrage perpetrated in 1772 was not to go unpunished in the far future. Reforms were called for all over the Empire; the feudal system had been grievous, especially in Hungary. A peasant of that land had lodged the following petition with Joseph in 1767. "Employment of the week. Four days of *corvée* (there is no English word for this). The fifth is devoted to fishing, the sixth to hunting, all for my lord's benefit. The seventh belongs to God. Judge, most just Emperor, whether I can pay the poll tax and the other burdens." Another old man in Hungary was found condemned to the mines because he had carried home a dead hare; he had received fifty lashes because a compassionate stranger had wished to intercede for him; Joseph set the old man free, and ordered his gaoler to receive the fifty lashes. An old Wallach of ninety had petitioned against the tyranny he underwent; he was beaten and thrown into prison by his master; Joseph, when informed of this, bestowed rewards on the one, punishment on the other. Others besides peasants suffered. In 1786 the burghers of Pilsen in Bohemia made a complaint to the Emperor against their magistrate; the man threw into prison the two culprits who had drawn up the petition. Imperial justice ordered the magistrate to go himself and

<sup>1</sup> Michiels, 343-348. Joseph on going to Rome was thus hailed by the populace, "Evviva il nostro Imperatore! Siete a casa vostra, siete il padrone." I think this is the last outburst of Italian Ghibellinism; the last outburst of Guelfism was to come in 1846.

release the victims, paying them as many ducats as they had spent days in prison; he then lost his post.<sup>1</sup>

There had not been much tolerance in religion under the Empress Queen. Vienna was full of pious fanatics ready to beat unmercifully any one who did not kneel to the Host as it passed. The wife of the Hanoverian envoy on such an occasion was dragged from her carriage, thrown into the mud, and kept there for some time; the Court of London obtained satisfaction from Joseph for this outrage. Under him a better spirit was fostered. We hear of two zealous Catholics of Brunn who gave thirty thousand florins to rebuild a Protestant temple, even though the worshippers in it were not numerous.<sup>2</sup> In 1781 came out Joseph's renowned Edict of Toleration, by which freedom of worship was granted to Greeks and Protestants, who were also allowed to hold office in the State. Many unneeded Monasteries were suppressed; books were rescued from priestly supervision. Pope Pius VI., alarmed at these reforms, undertook in 1782 a useless journey to Vienna, that he might make remonstrances.<sup>3</sup>

Pity it was that Joseph overdid his part; some of his reforms were laughable in their attention to trifles; he refused to be crowned King of Hungary, for he had not the slightest conception of national feeling, such as was the backbone of the Magyars; and in this instance he was forced to revoke what he had done with the best intentions. Flanders he drove into revolt by his innovations; and his silly Turkish war, all to the profit of Russia, was an appalling blunder. A rebellion broke out in Transylvania, where in 1784 the Wallachs were led on by Horja to make war on the castles of the nobles. Joseph at first winked at the revolt; but afterwards, when 4000 men had been murdered, he set a price on Horja's head. We have here a foretaste of Vienna policy in 1848. Horja was broken on the wheel, and 150 of his followers were impaled.<sup>4</sup> Joseph,

<sup>1</sup> Rioust, *Joseph II.*, 10, 158, 183, 184.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 127, 141.

<sup>3</sup> A list of twenty-four of Joseph's reforms is given by Rioust, *Joseph II.*, p. 72. Hence we learn that dances were sometimes performed in the churches; this reminds us of Seville.

<sup>4</sup> Vehse, *Court of Austria*, ii. 317.

reviled as the cause of the late turmoil, was frightened out of his Hungarian reforms, and the peasants were left in bondage to the nobles for two generations longer. This most unpractical of men had actually striven to force German as the official language upon the proud Magyars, and had removed their hallowed crown to Vienna.

He was succeeded in 1790 by his brother Leopold, who combined tolerant principles with common sense. The Hungarian Diet, after fiery debates, established the rights of Protestants. But Leopold died within little more than two years, at the moment when his wise statesmanship would have been priceless to Europe, both in dealing with the French Revolution and in propping up the new short-lived Polish constitution. The reign of his son Francis was in every way a change for the worse. The cause of toleration suffered at once, as we see by the complaints put forward in 1799; a Hungarian landholder could still flog his tenants for refusing to build a house for the priest. The military conscription was of course a gloomy feature of these times; and among other grievances we read that the Protestants had to furnish four times as many soldiers as the Catholics, men to be sacrificed to the generalship of Melas and Mack.<sup>1</sup>

These were not the most brilliant days of the Austrian army, the only army which, single-handed, has beaten both Frederick and Napoleon. One of the results of the disasters in war, brought about by the statesmanship of men like Thugut, was the renunciation by Francis II. in 1806 of the titles of Emperor of the Romans Elect and King of Germany, titles which had lasted for eighteen hundred and for one thousand years. The heir of Augustus and of Charles the Great might have called himself henceforth King of Hungary and Bohemia, time-honoured names; he chose rather to proclaim himself Emperor of a small German Duchy on the Danube. All historical sense seems to have been lost about this time, when Napoleon looked upon himself as the heir of the grim old German, the greatest ruler in the Middle Ages. Francis, though most popular at

<sup>1</sup> *Protestant Church of Hungary*, 394-403.

Vienna, is best known to the world as the harsh oppressor of Lafayette, as the gaoler of Silvio Pellico, and as the tool of Metternich, the great apostle of reaction.<sup>1</sup> The victories of Schwartzemberg procured for Austria the baleful heritage of wide dominion in Italy, and the hearty curses of most of the civilised world.

Thick darkness was brooding over the land, but light came from an unexpected quarter. For two hundred years no publication of the Austrian archives had been allowed, and for very good reasons. But in 1803 Baron Hormayr became director of the archives, and he held this post for twenty-five years. He then carried with him into Bavaria a multitude of notes and copies made from the originals. These papers he printed, shedding a new light upon Austrian history. In 1823 it was thought advisable to clear the Vienna archives, and a mass of papers was sold by the pound. But it was found that among them were some valuable documents; these were collected by men like Dr. Vehse, and most important publications have been the result.<sup>2</sup>

We must now consider the oppressive system, the refusal of all light from abroad or from the past, a system which ended by leading Austria to the brink of ruin in 1848. Protestantism, it is needless to say, was in shackles throughout the Empire, in spite of protests uttered in the Hungarian Diet. The worst instance of persecution came to light in the Tyrol; here many of the inhabitants of the Zillerthal forsook the old religion. In 1834 they were given their choice of abjuring their new creed or of enforced migration to Transylvania. Four hundred of them were at last allowed to seek refuge in Prussia.<sup>3</sup> There was stagnation both in Church and State; the young nobles, forbidden to interfere in politics, threw themselves into debauchery, such as made Vienna a byword. Metternich, the evil genius of Europe since 1815, hoped for the triumph of his system, if he could only checkmate Canning. The Austrian minister might boast that his cabinet was the

<sup>1</sup> It must be allowed that Metternich did yeoman's service to Europe in 1813 and 1814.

<sup>2</sup> Michiels, vii. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, ii. 291.



pivot of European politics. Since 1818 he had dragged Prussia behind him. In 1821 he had tamed Italy; in 1822 he had so hampered Russia as to prevent her supporting the Sultan's rebels. In 1823 he had launched the French soldiery upon Spain. In 1824 he had dictated to Germany and Switzerland. In 1825 he hoped to enforce his system upon France. But now Great Britain, led by Canning, thwarted the retrograde schemes of the wily Austrian.<sup>1</sup>

On the Danube two widely different policies were at work throughout the first half of the nineteenth century; on the one hand Metternich and his school, champions of the Holy Alliance, were doing their best to put back the clock and to bar all further progress, not in Austria alone but throughout Europe and America. Under him no art or science, except music, was allowed free play; the outcome of his system was seen in the Gallician massacres in 1846, which sent a thrill of horror through Europe; at Tarnow the Austrian officials paid money to the peasants who brought in the bodies of two hundred Polish nobles; of these, fourteen hundred altogether were slain.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Hungary was waking up from a long sleep; the Emperor Joseph's scorn for any language but German provoked the Magyars to substitute their own beloved language, wherever possible, for the Latin. Kazinczy took the lead in calling the attention of his countrymen to their mother tongue; he was rewarded by the Government with seven years of imprisonment, beginning in 1794; though no original thinker, he did for Hungary what Herder had done for Germany. A crowd of imitators followed; politics, in the wake of literature, made a fresh start under the auspices of Count Szecheny; he burned to break down the exclusive privileges of the nobles, which implied the slavery of millions. One Reformer, in the Diet of 1832, pointedly referred to Spartacus, San Domingo, and Horja's rising. Deak had already begun to lift up his voice on the right side; the high clergy seem to have hung back.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, xviii. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Asseline, *Histoire de l'Autriche*, 153.

<sup>3</sup> Szabad, *Hungary Past and Present*, 203, 210-220.

Francis II. was succeeded in 1836 by his son Ferdinand IV., who was afflicted with mental weakness. Metternich threw into prison some bold Reformers, among whom was Kossuth, one of the Northern Slavonians drawn to the Magyar Diet as to a magnet. In 1840 the Roman Catholic clergy came under censure for refusing to celebrate mixed marriages.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the Bohemians and Croats had been of late years roused from a long sleep. Public feeling was everywhere excited, especially after Metternich's Gallician massacres in 1846. Two years later the Revolution at Paris broke out; Vienna rose within a few weeks, and the whole Empire, so long misgoverned, was doomed to pass through a fearful eighteen months of bloodshed. Metternich, a statesman not blest with foresight, fled to England, and the Emperor, rather later, to the Tyrol. War was raging in Lombardy and risings were put down at Cracow and Prague. The Austrian half of the Monarchy sent its representatives, jealous Teutons and Slavonians, to a Diet at Vienna, where little was effected for the good of the land.

Meanwhile in Hungary the chamber of deputies followed Kossuth's lead, while the upper chamber lagged behind. The Monarch at Vienna now granted trial by jury, freedom of the press, religious equality, taxation of the nobles, and the abolition of feudal dues; in short, the old Hungarian system was reformed after the English pattern. But the Servians and Croats were not content with their position or with the predominance of the Magyar tongue. The Wallachs in Transylvania insisted upon their rights, long denied them by the tyranny of the Szeklers and Saxons. Kossuth, now Minister at Pesth, was mad enough to refuse all concessions to a Servian deputation. Blood was shed so early as the month of April; the two races, Magyar and Slavonian, were now ready for the fray.<sup>2</sup> Jellachich roused the Croats; the Imperial Court at first denounced his rebellion; a few months later the rebel was made Commander of Hungary; this double dealing of course shook the loyalty of the Magyars to the throne. Still most of

<sup>1</sup> Szabad, *Hungary Past and Present*, 225, 230.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Serbes de Hongrie*, 223, 224.

the Bishops stood by Vienna; the priests followed the lead of Kossuth, a Protestant.<sup>1</sup>

The Viennese broke into a rebellion which owed much of its first success to Polish leaders like Bem; Austria now bitterly atoned for the foul trick she had played her natural ally eighty years earlier; it was Polish skill and valour that but for the Czar Nicholas would now have broken Austria to pieces. The Hungarians in vain hastened to the relief of Vienna. In December Ferdinand IV. abdicated a throne for which he was unfit, and his nephew Francis Joseph succeeded; the youth's mother, the Archduchess Sophia, had become the very soul of the Reaction.

He began by promulgating a Constitution for the whole Empire; this practically abolished the Hungarian Diet, which, like that of England, looked back upon six hundred years of freedom. For this system the Magyars were fighting, as few nations have ever fought; Romanists and Protestants, headed by their clergy, set the cause of Hungary above all.<sup>2</sup> Attacked on every side by the Austrian regular army, by the Servians and Wallachs (who were guilty of hideous excesses), and in the end by a far more terrible foe, the Magyars for months went on conquering all before them. The mighty deeds of their Captains (one of them was Guyon, the Englishman) rang throughout Europe in 1849. In April of that year their Dictator, Kossuth, was guilty of a fearful blunder; he induced the Hungarian deputies to vote the deposition of the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine. He could stir up the passions of millions by his speeches, but he knew not how to impose his will upon mutinous generals. Buda was stormed, but, on the other hand, vast Russian armies were poured into Hungary; Haynau, marching from the West, found it now possible to conquer the rebels. Kossuth, Bem, and others fled for refuge to the Turk, who nobly refused to give them up to their tyrants; Görgey, the most renowned of the

<sup>1</sup> Asseline, *Histoire de l'Autriche*, 225.

<sup>2</sup> The Hungarian currency, under the Protestant Kossuth, bore on its obverse the Virgin, with the legend, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, Protectress of Hungary."—Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 105.

rebels, surrendered to the Russians, and escaped with his life. The great fortress of Komorn, the last bulwark of freedom, yielded late in September, and thus ended a year and a half of turmoil, spreading through Western Europe turmoil such as has seldom been seen, and such as will never pass away from the recollections of those who beheld it.

The punishment meted out to the Magyar patriots was most cruel; it did not quite equal the bloody days of Eperies, since torture had by this time gone out of use. But Schwartzemberg, the Austrian minister, seemed to revel in bloodshed. Four Hungarian generals were shot, nine others were hung—men who had over and over again defeated the best troops of Austria. Several statesmen underwent the like fate. Thousands of patriots were doomed to long imprisonment. Haynau, a milder Carafa, flogged in public certain ladies, an outrage for which he was chastised in London a year later.<sup>1</sup>

Hungary for many years lay in a deep stupor, trampled upon by German officials; her old Constitution had been swept away, and there was nothing to replace it but the caprice of a young Despot, who now and then put forth new systems of government.<sup>2</sup> Much of his success had been owing to the Croats, Servians, and Wallachs; but these nations found themselves under the same system as the Magyars; all Vienna promises, made in the time of adversity, were forgotten. The chief employment of the Austrian army was to prop up the infamous misgovernment of Italian rulers. In 1855 the new Austrian Concordat astonished the world. By this freak of the young Emperor's Rome was allowed to publish her edicts throughout the land, unchecked by the civil power; all public instruction was handed over to the clergy; Bishops were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the law courts; the churches were once more privileged as refuges for criminals; the clergy were allowed to acquire and transmit property. The whole

<sup>1</sup> Asseline, *Histoire de l'Autriche*, 232.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Protestant Church in Hungary*, 450, there is a curious edict of Haynau's early in 1850 regulating that Church.

intellectual and moral life of the Austrian Empire was placed in the hands of the Prelates. A loud shout of approval burst forth from the Ultramontane party throughout Europe. Spain and Italy might imprison a few Bible-readers; but what was this petty peddling to the zeal for Rome shown by the young Austrian Emperor? Convents and pilgrimages were multiplied; arts and sciences sank into a heavy sleep. The priest and the soldier lorded it over all, though this was the day of railways and telegraphs. Cavour thus referred to the new system: "As an Italian I rejoice, as a Catholic I mourn."

This precious Concordat did less damage in Hungary than elsewhere. The Roman Catholic clergy in that land are the richest and most privileged in Europe, but at the same time the most tolerant and most popular.<sup>1</sup> They beheld with repugnance the sacrifice of the independence of the Hungarian Church to the despotism of Rome. But by this new Concordat the priests were placed at the mercy of the Bishops, the Bishops at the mercy of the Roman Court. We are not surprised to learn that it was the Cardinal Primate of Hungary who undertook to deliver to the Monarch a petition asking for a return to the old system. Meanwhile the Greeks and Protestants, mindful of the past, viewed the new system with alarm; they expected to be both Germanised and Catholicised. The Protestants, in their resistance to an Imperial patent dealing with their affairs in 1859, were backed by both Roman Catholics and Greeks.<sup>2</sup> Austria at first favoured the great Polish revolt in 1863; later, she handed back to their oppressors those countrymen of Sobieski who escaped to her soil; the Concordat had not improved the moral tone of her statesmen. Louis Napoleon had already dealt the first blow to Ultramontanism and Despotism by his war on Austria in 1859; her old ally, Great Britain, had been thoroughly estranged

<sup>1</sup> Still, even in Transylvania, much harm was done by the Concordat; priests strove to raise barriers between different Confessions. See Boner's *Transylvania*, 326.

<sup>2</sup> Szemere, *Hungary from 1848 to 1860*, 20, 38, 100. Both Lutherans and Calvinists threatened to become Unitarians if interfered with. See Patterson, ii. 131. Their notions of dogma seem to be very loose.—*Ibid.* ii. 137.



by the late vagaries; for eleven years longer, at intervals, was the conflict between good and evil government to rage in Europe. Bismarck took up the game; Solferino was followed by Sadowa, a field which stands alone in the annals of mankind; it blessed both them that won and them that lost; from it Germany, Italy, and Hungary alike date new life. It is well to compare the small proportion of the Austrian loss at Sadowa with that incurred at Wagram; in 1866 great part of the Austrian army had plainly no stomach for the fight. For the eyes of the soldiery there was nothing very inspiring in the Concordat with Rome or in the system of temporal Despotism.<sup>1</sup>

Three days after Sadowa Francis Joseph called in Deak, the great Magyar statesman, who had walked so warily for the last eighteen years as to avoid the gallows of Haynau, and at the same time to be the guiding star of all true patriots. "Hungary is dead," said the statesman; "she can do nothing until her hands are untied." Early in 1867 the Emperor, repenting while there was yet time, restored the old Hungarian Constitution; later in the year he wore the Crown of St. Stephen, Deak declining with his usual modesty the high office of Palatine. The great statesman, rising above the selfish Magyar idea, held out a hand to the Croats, these having met with little gratitude from the Vienna Government. The patriots who had escaped the rope were now recalled from exile. The Dual system had begun; the Western half of the Empire, which obeyed Vienna, unluckily could boast of no Deak, and its Diet has since been a scene of weltering confusion between jarring nationalities, Germans, Poles, Ruthenians, Bohemians, and others. Westminster has but one Ireland, Vienna has half a dozen. One of the first-fruits of the new system was the fall of the much-loathed Concordat; in Hungary this was a foregone conclusion; in Austria much resistance was made by the nobles, prelates, and Tyrolese peasants, but the

<sup>1</sup> The Austrian prisoners made at Sadowa amounted to 20,000. Asseline, 302. These figures tell their own tale as to the lukewarmness of both Hungarians and Croats in 1859. See F. W. Newman's *Reminiscences of Two Wars and Two Exiles*, 122-124. See also Crowe's *Reminiscences*.

unanimity in the Diet on the other side was remarkable; the Minister of worship declared, "All is now changed; the absolutism which treated with Rome is at an end; a Constitutional State is bound to settle its internal affairs after its own convenience."<sup>1</sup> Pius IX. in vain protested against this godless legislation, and one Bishop had to be imprisoned by the Austrian Courts; the whole history of the Concordat makes it plain why the Rome of our day prefers the alliance of Despotism to that of Freedom, at least in Europe. Deak was a devout Roman Catholic, but he belonged to the school of Montalembert, not to that of Veuillot; Deak's friend, Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa, was a stern opponent of Infallibility at the Council in 1870; Bishop Strossmayer, the unyielding enemy of Magyarism, trod in the same path.<sup>2</sup> As to the reception of the new dogma of Infallibility in Hungary, the venerable Bishop Fogarasy was heard to remark, "We never speak of it, we never mention it in our churches or seminaries. We desire that this dogma, which is only a party cry of the schools, and which is opposed to all modern ideas, may be forgotten. The Church and the State were not meant to thwart each other, but to live in perfect harmony for the good of all." There spoke a Prelate of that Church which had given many a dignified confessor to the cause of freedom in 1849.<sup>3</sup> These Prelates seem to make a noble use of their vast revenues, which have not been clipped so short in Austria or Hungary as in the rest of Europe.

In 1876 Deak died, honoured by King and country alike, perhaps the most stainless subject that ever wielded the power of the State in troublous times; calm amid the crash of a falling Monarchy, righteous and firmly grasping what he aimed at, not to be shaken from his resolve by the shouts of his fiery countrymen. One regret connected with him must be widely felt: he never bequeathed a testament to the Magyars teaching them how to deal with the oppressed Wallachs and Slavonians: this matter will of a surety bring as fearful perils on Hungary in time to come

<sup>1</sup> *Francis Deak*, 291.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 292.

<sup>3</sup> Tissot. *Unknown Hungary*, ii. 191

as in 1848. The Germans of Austria, on the other hand, are now the chosen allies of the Magyar; for all that, they keep an expectant eye upon the head of their kin at Berlin.

In days of yore the great stronghold of the toleration so dear to Deak was Transylvania; here Unitarianism still reckons about sixty thousand followers among the Szeklers of the mountains, men noted for industry and morality.<sup>1</sup> The most debased race of all are the Wallachs in Transylvania and the Banat. These are known for their fiendish deeds in 1848, when, at the call of Government officials, they rose upon the Szeklers, and butchered old men, women, and children; at the same time showing arrant cowardice in the field. Their leader, Janko, was years afterwards to be seen, a hopeless drunkard, jeered at by every child. They are an increasing race, in strong contrast to their wealthy Saxon neighbours, who employ unholy means to restrict population. The Wallachs are dreaded as lovers of arson and stealers of cattle; even their Greek popes, a degraded set, are not above the former crime; they do not well know if they are Uniates or not. At any rate, they all look to Russia, where the head of their Church dwells.<sup>2</sup> It is said that the Croats also keep the Czar's picture in their cottages; among these men the feeling for race must prevail over the claims of creed. The Latin and Greek religions, elsewhere such bitter foes, are said to agree very well in Croatia.<sup>3</sup>

If we cross the Hungarian border into Gallicia, we see the Ruthenians, haters of all that is Polish, driven by their political ideas towards the Greek Orthodox Church, however much they may protest their devotion to Rome. They seem to follow the lead of Harasiewicz, the provost of the Ruthenian Chapter of Leopold, who has published important documents bearing on his national Church.<sup>4</sup> As to the

<sup>1</sup> Paget's *Hungary*, ii. 502; they must have increased since he saw them in 1838.

<sup>2</sup> See Boner's *Transylvania*, 321, 371, 394, 535. This work came out in 1865. As to the persecution of the Greek faith by the Austrian Government about 1830 see Paget's *Hungary*, ii. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Whitman, *Realm of the Habsburgs*, 45. See also Paget's *Hungary*, ii. 590.

<sup>4</sup> Guépin, *Saint Josaphat*, i. xv.

Czechs of Bohemia, it remains to be seen whether their great hero Huss or the Pope will get the upper hand in time to come.

Some dark forebodings, as we see, tend to mar the brightness of the future of Hungary, a land which must peculiarly appeal to the sympathies of all good Englishmen; in Hungary and England alone, out of all Europe, have Constitutions been handed down for six hundred years and more; in both countries the Pope has in vain striven to meddle with self-government; in both countries Protestantism has been the backbone of freedom and progress; in both countries Aristocracy has shown itself to be something higher than a mere Court lacquey. Religious toleration is not perfect in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Still, when we turn to the Austrian division of the vast realm, the greater influence of Rome is plain to all. The priest hates the Germans far more than the Czechs and Poles. He is able to throw the leading Austrian houses, whatever be their origin, into the Slavonian scale. The towns may be open to the ideas of their German brethren of the North, but the priest is able to sway the peasantry at his will.<sup>2</sup> He is not held in check, as in Hungary, by any Protestant pastor. There are in the Austrian half of the realm 6565 monks and 10,281 nuns, who rule where the Hussites and Lutherans once reckoned upon abiding triumph. There is no thoroughness in education, and the action of the priest has much to do with the backwardness of the scholar.<sup>3</sup> The cultured few rebel against the priestly rule; every thinker on the Danube must ask the reason why Austria can produce only musicians, while Northern Germany turns out a noble brood of statesmen and writers. Austria may well envy the 4000 self-supported Calvinist schools of Hungary—schools so good that the Roman Catholics are eager to send their children thither.<sup>4</sup> This state of things must naturally provoke the high authorities at Rome; in 1895 Pope Leo

<sup>1</sup> Patterson, *The Magyars*, ii. 108, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Whitman, *Realm of the Habsburgs*, 27, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 191, 225.

<sup>4</sup> Patterson, ii. 145. All interested in Hungary should make a study of his admirable work.

XIII., departing from his usual moderation, did what Pius IX. might have done ; he sent his Nuncio Agliardi through Hungary, urging the people to continue their resistance against the new Civil Marriage Act and other ecclesiastical measures of the Government. The Prime Minister had to apply to Rome for Agliardi's recall.<sup>1</sup>

This interference is not likely to be repeated ; the Emperor Francis Joseph still reigns, after a most varied experience ; he began as the patron of Haynau and as the enforcer of an Ultramontane Concordat upon his unwilling subjects ; he has ended by sweeping away the whole evil system of Metternich, and by endowing his subjects with liberties proportioned to their wants. In Hungary he upholds what he once destroyed. For thirty years the most valuable life in Europe has been that of Francis Joseph, the heedful moderator between Austria and Hungary ; these two countries are the keystone of Europe, and of these two Francis Joseph is himself the keystone. Whenever he shall die, the floodgates of strife will be opened throughout his vast Empire, more especially if his successor should happen to profess Ultramontanism, or to set great store by grandmotherly government.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Register* for 1895, p. 276.



## CHAPTER III

### GERMANY

Religious Strife . . . . .	1520-1648
Disunion. French aggression . . . . .	1648-1740
Rise of Prussia. French aggression . . . . .	1740-1815
Reunion of most of Germany . . . . .	1815-1871
Germany under Prussian leadership . . . . .	1871-1902

As Italy is to Southern Europe, so is Germany to the North. From Germany came the fresh blood that brought new life into the Western provinces of the worn-out Roman Empire. It was Germany that bore the Roman Eagle through the Middle Ages, and made the Teutons' sway respected by Poles, Bohemians, and Hungarians, while she planted her colonies in Britain, Livonia, and Transylvania, and turned the Baltic into a German lake. It was Germany that, after having given us gunpowder and the printing-press, two generations later made a still mightier contribution to the welfare of mankind. She had already, in 1046, purged Rome directly; she was now to purge Rome indirectly.

The Popes after a long wrestle had broken the Imperial power, and had made Germany a medley of Princes, Prelates, and Cities, all acknowledging, at least in theory, the man who was both Roman Emperor and German King, throned high above all. Three spiritual and four temporal Electors had the right of choosing the most majestic lay sovereign upon earth, and this sovereignty (it was sometimes very weak) continued in the house of Hapsburg for three centuries after 1438. The people, the Free Imperial Cities always excepted, were sternly debarred from the exercise of power ;

Germany had not yet risen to the political level of England ; hence a Prince or Prelate voting at the Diet often acted in the teeth of the wishes of his subjects. If any great soul-stirring crisis should arise, it might well be that the great mass of the German folk might take one side, while most of the eighteen Princes and the thirty-eight Prelates might be found on the other. The Emperor Maximilian I. was fully alive to the contrasts shown by certain European kingdoms. "I am a King of kings," said he ; "the Princes, my subjects, obey me or disobey me as they choose. The French king is a king of asses ; they do whatever he commands them. The English king is a king of men ; they obey willingly with loving obedience." This avowal, preserved in Luther's *Table-Talk*, draws broad lines between Anarchy, Despotism, and Limited Monarchy.<sup>1</sup>

The love of learning had spread from the South to Germany ; never was there more zeal shown than in that country after 1450, when colleges and schools in great numbers were founded, while teachers were well paid and held in honour. The printing-press multiplied copies of the Bible ; of these, fourteen editions in High German, five in Low German, came forth before Luther had broken with Rome.

Clergy and burghers seemed to rival each other in promoting lore of the best kind, and also charitable institutions. The Universities did their work well ; it is strange that Berlin at this time lagged behind the rest of Germany. Painting and music made great advances ; a mixture of High and Low German arose in the Fifteenth century, called "the vulgar German," an instrument of vast power, as was soon to be seen. The country was becoming a most wealthy centre of commerce, and the mines were in full work. On the other hand, private wars were a festering sore in the body politic ; it was hard to obtain justice against high-born offenders. The power of Princes was

<sup>1</sup> This passage confirms the views on the English Constitution expressed earlier by Fortescue and De Comines. I fear the part about Henry VIII. would not have been equally applicable twenty years after Maximilian's death.

slowly increasing, and this was furthered by the growing influence of the Roman law, which had been opposed by many Popes.<sup>1</sup>

Teutonic anarchy went down to the lowest social scale; the peasants of Southern Germany, who had the example of the Swiss always before their eyes, resolved to profit by it; their lot was now far more unhappy than it had been under the great Hohenstaufen Kaisers. So early as 1493, when lords and peasants alike had a steady belief in the Pope, the lower ranks in Alsace began to combine, taking as their device what was called the Bond-shoe. In 1514 their revolt broke out once more in spite of fearful punishments. Rather later, knights such as Sickingen, men high above peasants, had no scruple in attacking Princes of the highest rank in Church and State.

As to religion, the mutterings of a coming storm were plainly to be heard. Germany owned the richest Church in Europe, and the luxury of her Prelates and the debauchery of her clergy were extreme. Reuchlin had boldly thrown down the gauntlet to the champions of ignorance, and Rome had practically forsaken the side of his monkish assailants. Erasmus was introducing the learned to a new world. The names of the preachers who were to make themselves heard in the coming age had already begun to be noised abroad. Italy was no longer to enjoy a monopoly of culture. Rome had made herself the patroness of the arts and sciences that were now starting to life in the South, but the Popes unhappily had great need of money for their various schemes. Hence came Tetzel's mission and the sudden appearance of a friar, hitherto unknown, as the ringleader of a religious revolt.

St. Augustine's writings had already inspired many a

<sup>1</sup> For the best side of German culture Jannsen should be read; he gives us all that can be said for Rome. His remarks in his first volume on the Universities and the German language are here reproduced. Some of his facts must be received with suspicion; thus in i. 135 he gravely tells us that Lincoln Cathedral and some of her sisters are due to Germanic art! At the time when England struck out something altogether new in Lincoln choir, Germany was still erecting all her churches in the old round-arched Romanesque style.

learned German with disgust at the prevalent creed and its practices, and it was among the friars who bore St. Augustine's name that the seed of reform had taken deepest root. In 1502 a new University had been founded by Frederick, the Elector of Saxony, at Wittenberg, where the Augustinian Convent was soon to boast a world-renowned inmate. The hour and the man had both come. Martin Luther, a peasant and the son of peasants, had taken the monastic vows in a fit of religious terror. "If ever a monk got to heaven," wrote he, "by monkish life and practices, I resolved that I would enter there." But he felt no comfort from his religious exercises until an old friar set before him St. Paul's assertion that man is justified without works, by faith alone. This and St. Augustine's commentary upon the text brought peace to the despairing soul. In 1508 he was removed to Wittenberg, which he was soon to make, as it were, a Protestant Rome. He was free to preach his favourite doctrine of justification by faith, for it had never been as yet condemned by the Popes, and it must have come home to every student of the great African Father.

Pope Leo X. had set Tetzel to work, promising release from Purgatory to all who would pay for the privilege with some wretched sum of money. All this was the very opposite of the theological ideas to which St. Paul, St. Augustine, and Luther had clung. Late in 1517 the great change was begun, for the Wittenberg friar nailed to the parish church door his ninety-five propositions, theses which cut at the root of the spiritual offers of Leo X. and his emissary. The friar was backed by his natural lord, the Elector of Saxony, the wisest and mightiest Prince in the Empire, a patron more powerful than any advocate that Huss or Savonarola ever had. This Prince, who had hitherto been a great collector of relics, might have become Emperor in 1519, but unhappily declined the honour in favour of the young Charles, Fifth Emperor of that name, already King of Castile and Lord of the Golden Indies.

Meanwhile Luther had held his own manfully against the chosen champions of Rome, and all Germany seemed to enlist in his cause. Cardinal Cajetan, the Papal Legate, in

vain strove to confute the Reformer with the choicest sentences of St. Thomas, the great oracle of the Dominicans. The Italian having altogether failed, a German named Miltitz was next sent from Rome, a man who was no friend to Tetzel; yet the new envoy could do but little. Then came the learned Eck, one of the greatest scholars of the day; he held a public disputation with Luther, who was now bold enough to attack General Councils as well as Popes, and would hear of nothing but the Bible. No mere man, he said, could be Head of the Church; that office belonged to Christ alone. The Reformer had already dropped Purgatory, thought highly of Huss, and found that shameless lies, such as the Donation of Constantine, had been embodied in the Decretals. He had been joined by a new friend from the South, Philip Melancthon, a far more learned man than himself; the philosophic mildness of the youth was for the next twenty-eight years to temper the roughness of the older man; the one theologian was the complement of the other. Luther's writings were already known beyond Germany; they were read all through Western Europe, sometimes in translations; as yet there was but little opposition, even at Paris.

In the summer of 1520 Leo X. put forth his Bull against Luther, who was to be held a stubborn heretic if he did not recant within sixty days; the Bull kindled the wrath of millions of honest Germans. In the meantime Luther had gone further than before; he denied that the Orders of the clergy were indelible, and he thought that the priests should be subject to the lay power. He now handled the doctrine of the Eucharist, and of the other Sacraments he rejected all but three. He insisted on Scripture alone as the foundation of any religious theory. Nothing is more remarkable in his career than the very gradual way in which he broke with the Church, for which even up to the last he felt some reverence. News now came that in some places the authorities had begun to burn Luther's writings. He at once, on December 10, 1520, threw into the fire the Pope's Bull and decretals in the face of the world. Henceforth there was no going back; Luther and Rome were to



wage deadly war, and Western Europe was to be split into two halves. Here was the beginning of the Reformation; the question lay between Germany and Rome, Scripture or Church, conscience or despotism.

The new movement very early reckoned among its followers the lower clergy, much oppressed by the Bishops; the lawyers and the votaries of learning, such as Hutten. It was hoped that the young Flemish Emperor-Elect, a youth of twenty, would organise Germany upon the new system. Early in the next year, 1521, he held a Diet at Worms, where he made over the Austrian Duchies to his younger brother Ferdinand. Charles was the mightiest ruler in Christendom, inheriting as he did rights and dominions from all his four grandfathers and grandmothers. He was, moreover, the lord of the Indies, which had for many years poured their treasures into Europe. His first task was to wrest Lombardy from the French, and here the aid of Pope Leo X. was most important. Charles, who was never to understand Luther, was a stranger to the German people, having been bred elsewhere; he therefore preferred the claims of the Papacy to the wishes of his new subjects. But the Estates of Germany insisted that Luther should be heard in his own defence before being handed over to the Pope.

In April 1521 the Reformer was borne into Worms in an open waggon, with the Imperial herald riding before him. Next day he appeared before the Diet; here sat the young Emperor-Elect and six Electors, spiritual and temporal, with many nobles and envoys from the great cities. Embarrassed at first, Luther soon shook himself free from all fear of men, however high they might be placed; he put his whole trust in the Most Highest; he defended his opinions, maintaining that a Council might err as well as a Pope. He stood forth before all, the righteous man bold as a lion. He avowed that he would never recant unless confuted out of Scripture. On this, the greatest day of his life, he pronounced his immortal phrase: "Here stand I; I cannot do otherwise; God help me. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *History of the Reformation*, i. 536. I take this work as my guide down to the year 1535.

Charles openly declared that he would proceed against Luther as a heretic. On the other hand, Luther's German hearers, high and low, began to rally round him; ominous reference was already made to the Bond-shoe. But a few weeks later Charles and Leo were in close alliance against the French King and the German unbeliever; this league was to govern the course of events for the next few years. The Ban of the Empire was declared against Luther.

To this Ban Germany paid little heed; Luther might be for some months withdrawn from the public eye; but his doctrines were boldly proclaimed at Wittenberg, while Melanchthon, in the cause of truth, bearded the mighty University of Paris, long the teacher of all Western Christendom. It was now but four years since Luther had first questioned the Pope's authority, yet a wondrous change was in progress. Priests were beginning to break the yoke of celibacy, monks were leaving their convents; private Masses were put down. Carlstadt was giving the Cup to the laity; some were going far beyond Luther, declaring that they were inspired by the Holy Ghost. Neither Frederick the Wise, the Saxon Elector, nor Melanchthon, were the men to deal with such a crisis.

The one man who could overawe anarchy at last came forward, after having been for ten months kept out of the way in the Castle of the Wartburg, where he had busied himself in turning the New Testament into German. In March 1522 Luther was once more preaching at Wittenberg, defying Anabaptists as well as the Pope. Carlstadt was silenced, and the Latin Mass was for the time restored; nothing old was to be condemned, unless Scripture were clearly against it. Melanchthon published his *Loci Communes*, the first book on theology for many centuries that had been constructed out of the Bible alone. Luther's New Testament, which appeared at the same time, took deep root wherever the German tongue was spoken; it was a gift, a bulwark of nationality, such as has seldom been made to a people. The Papal party were much disgusted; it is worth while to peruse the invective of Cochläus, one of the main props of Romanism. "The New Testament,

translated by Luther into our native tongue, is in truth the food of death, the fuel of sin, the veil of malice, the pretext of false freedom, the protection of disobedience, the corruption of discipline, the depravation of morals, the ruin of concord, the end of honesty, the spring of vices, the disease of virtue, the kindling of rebellion, the milk of pride, the food of scorn, the death of peace, the destruction of love, the enemy of unity, the murder of truth."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this wail of Cochläus, the religious outlook seemed to be bright; Charles had left Germany for Spain, and the Council of Regency showed itself most tolerant. The new Flemish Pope, Adrian VI., was no friend to Luther, but at the same time openly avowed that many abominations had been committed at Rome, and that corruption had spread from the Pope to the Prelates. The Germans made a bold protest against the existing system. Their Hundred Grievances are set out by Raynaldus in his account of the year 1523; some of them were afterwards corrected by the Council of Trent, especially the fetters on marriage and the malversation of German money contributed against the Turks. The patriots of both creeds brought forward the abuse of Indulgences (already denounced by Erasmus), the sums extorted by the Roman Court, the want of learning in men to whom was given the care of souls, the exemption of the clergy from taxation, the abuse of excommunication, the number of holy days, the seizure of laymen's goods, the toleration for money of harlots and usury. The seventeenth charge was, that priests frequented taverns, danced, and fought, and that Bishops often exacted money from the clergy in exchange for the privilege of concubinage. The charges were put forward by the faithful, no less than by the Lutherans. The advocates of Rome can utter little in answer to all this except the cuckoo cry of exaggeration. The Germans were already, early in 1523, talking of a future General Council of the Church. The cities and clergy battled together at the Diet of Nuremberg, and the Papal Nuncio found that he could do nothing. This city

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Demaus, *Life of Tyndale*, 387. Cochläus was able to delay the issue of the English New Testament for some months.

was already a stronghold of the Reformation, such as it was to be for the next three generations.

Luther's Augustinian brethren in many a German town threw themselves into the new movement; two or three of them, at Antwerp, were the first martyrs of the cause. The Franciscans speedily followed; one of them became the apostle of Hamburg. Bucer, Ecolompadius, and Bugenhagen, converts of this time, were soon to win a great name for themselves as theologians. Eck lost a favourite disciple, and one of the Prelates came over to Luther's side; other Bishops favoured the new doctrines, which were preached from Basle to Riga. In one procession a Bible was borne along instead of the Host; the true Holy of Holies had been at last found. The laity, men and women alike, were beginning to know more of the Scriptures than old-established Doctors did. Preachers lifted up their voices everywhere, and it mattered little to the hearers whether they met in a church or in the open air. Nine-tenths of Germany seemed to rush into the Reform; it was very different in England, Sweden, and Holland. The good Elector of Saxony offered a home in his dominions to all teachers who were elsewhere persecuted; it was a privilege to hear Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg. The press poured forth tracts and pamphlets, and these were nearly all on one side; German literature, homely and vigorous, made great strides. Hymns composed by Luther in the years that followed 1523 were sung all through the land, and mightily helped on the cause. The Pope and his adherents were made a laughing-stock on the stage; the poet Hans Sachs was a strong Lutheran. History was represented by the laborious John Aventinus, who undertook such subjects as the life of Hildebrand. In 1524 Luther published a letter to all German burgomasters exhorting them to found Christian schools; of these priests and laymen alike stood in need; arts, law, medicine, and history were to be studied; Greek and Latin grammars were now published, which kept their hold on the nation for centuries.

Meanwhile Adrian VI. had made way for the more

worldly Clement VII., who sent the well-known Campeggio as his envoy to the German Diet in 1524. The Italian found it best to make little show in public before the Lutheran assemblies, who were open mockers; thousands of the laity partook of the Cup, and the Emperor's own sister was one of these perverse rebels. Campeggio, a grasping and deceitful man, was asked what had become of the Hundred grievances sent to Rome in the name of Germany; he made the excuse that no official announcement of these most ill-written complaints had reached the Pope. We are not surprised to learn that the majority of the Diet took Luther's side.

The Papal Court was thoroughly alarmed; it was suggested that Frederick of Saxony should be deprived of his Electorate, and that Spain and England should renounce all commerce with Germany. But a happier scheme was carried out; Duke William of Bavaria and his many abbots were enlisted on the Roman side, which this Duchy has continued to champion ever since. Bavaria, thanks in a great measure to Eck, has been to the one party what Saxony and Brandenburg have been to the other. Rome proved her gratitude by granting to her Bavarian friend a large share of the Church revenues in his State, and also some authority over the neighbouring Bishops. The ruler of Austria gained even more than this. How different would the future fate of Germany have been, had but the Wittelsbachs and Hapsburgs taken the other side! Campeggio brought about an assembly at Ratisbon, composed of the Princes and Bishops of Southern Germany, favourable to Rome. Luther's writings were forbidden, but at the same time all priestly extortions were abolished, and the number of Church holidays was curtailed. Strict morality was enjoined upon the clergy, and a rival translation of the Bible was put forth. Here we have the first foretaste of the Council of Trent; the Temporal and Spiritual powers were now united in the work of Reform proceeding upon Roman lines. It is not Protestants alone who owe much to the Man of Wittenberg. Kaiser Charles now sent from abroad a proclamation, comparing Luther to Mahomet,



and denouncing any German assembly that might confront the council at Ratisbon. Thus the unity of Germany was broken for ever. Persecution went on in the South; some preachers were nailed to the pillory by the tongue, and others were put to death. On the other hand, the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse (the renowned Philip) joined the Lutherans. The King of Denmark issued a decree in favour of religious toleration. Albert of Prussia, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was converted by Luther himself. Thus passed away the momentous year 1524; so cautious was the attitude of the Lutheran leaders, that all through this year the Elector of Saxony had the Mass celebrated in his chapel, however Luther might frown.

But the end of the year 1524 was very different from its beginning. Men like Carlstadt and Münzer had far outrun the Wittenberg Doctors, and were now preaching a law which was not that of the New Testament; infant baptism was altogether rejected. Moreover, the oppressed peasants were ripe for revolt, as they had been a dozen years earlier; not only priests, but nobles, must be restrained, if the new lore was worth aught. The great revolt broke out near the sources of the Danube, and the peasants of that region became masters of the land by the beginning of 1525; Bishops and Abbots had cause to tremble before their vassals, many of whom were old soldiers. The rebels stated their demands in the form of Twelve articles; they wished for freedom of the chase, of fishing, of hewing wood; they asked that newly imposed burdens and the lesser tithes might be done away, and that they might choose their own preachers. Swabia was the first province to rise, and was soon followed by Franconia; great nobles were forced to subscribe to the Twelve articles, or had to undergo fearful barbarities. The Bishop of Spire submitted to the conditions imposed; the Margrave of Baden was driven to fly. The large towns seemed to take the side of the peasants, supplying them with arms and food. One circumstance reminds us of old Italian history; the city of Bamberg stormed nearly fifty neigh-

bouring castles, hoping to force the owners to dwell thenceforth within the town walls, and to become burghers. Mayence and Treves put forth demands of their own. A scheme was brought forward for confiscating all Church property, and thus lightening the burdens of the laity; the courts were to be made popular, and the hated Roman law was to retire into the background. The movement spread to Westphalia on one side, to the Tyrol on the other, even crossing the Alps. Thuringia was roused by Münzer, who called Luther's views "a fabulous gospel," and who looked for the speedy appearance of a second Moses. Not only convents, but libraries, were destroyed. Luther had at the outset of the revolt rebuked the tyranny of the lords; but he now made a firm stand (yet his language was rather too strong) against the fanatics who were burning to destroy everything above a peasant's hut. At this moment died his steady protector, Frederick of Saxony; "a child of peace, in peace he hath departed." He was succeeded by his brother, the Elector John, who took the field against the peasants, aided by Philip of Hesse and two other Princes. Münzer showed hopeless incapacity; he was soon routed, and put to death after being tortured. Towards the end of May, the peasants of Alsace were slaughtered to the number of seventeen thousand. Würzburg, headed by a stout Lutheran, beat off her rustic besiegers; their great want everywhere was artillery. The victory of the Princes was disgraced by fearful massacres; in the bishopric of Würzburg alone more than two hundred were put to death in various ways. The next country to yield was the Rhineland; Salzburg did not give way until the end of August. Heavy contributions and more oppressive laws became the order of the day, in the summer of the bloody year 1525, at the very time when German soldiers were helping to win for Kaiser Charles the great triumph of Pavia.

It was thought wise to direct the vengeance of power against Lutherans whether they had taken part in the revolt or not. Forty preachers were soon swinging on the trees of one small district; men were put to death only for having Lutheran books in their possession. But if the

Papal party roused itself, their enemies made further steps in shaking off the Papal ceremonies; bolder leaders had come to the front with projects that would have changed the whole course of German history. Augsburg and Nuremberg organised their churches on the new principles. Appeals from the other side were sent to the Emperor against the damnable Lutheran doctrine. In this year Erasmus took the field against Luther, and forced him into assertions that cannot be defended.

The Peasants' War had a bad effect upon the spread of the Reformation; the Kings of France and England were easily made to believe that the bloody convulsion was simply the outcome of Luther's new opinions; revolution in things spiritual was not likely to be conservative in things temporal. We see in Sir Thomas More's writings the effect that the German civil war had upon a mind devoted to the maintenance of law and order; the author of *Utopia* was henceforward taunted as a backslider from his old principles. He was much shocked at one event of this year, Luther's marriage; a most wholesome example to thousands of priests. Some, even in our day, aver that Luther turned Germany upside down, only that he might wed his nun.

Rival leagues were formed in the land early in 1526; Saxony and Hesse pledged their faith to each other; Magdeburg began to play her wonted prominent part on the side of the Reformation; now was formed the first compact alliance of Lutheran Princes, among whom was Prince Wolf of Anhalt, one of a house that Luther loved to extol; their name was often to be renowned in the future. In the summer of this year the German Diet met at Spire; the laity here once more called for the reformation of abuses; to this the clergy opposed a stout resistance, wishing that the books lately printed might be burnt. The Landgrave of Hesse showed himself more versed in Scripture than any of the Bishops.<sup>1</sup> However, some of these last agreed to the marriage of the clergy, to the gift of the

<sup>1</sup> Of him Luther says in his *Table Talk*: "He hath the love of the common folk, and is a valiant soldier."

Cup to the laity, and to the abolition of private Masses ; it was insisted that Scripture should always be explained by Scripture. The Emperor bade his envoys assent to no resolution of the Diet that might run counter to the interests of the Church ; he was doing his best for the Papacy in Germany, even at the moment when in Italy Pope Clement was stirring up an European war against the Empire.

While German soldiers were pressing forward to the sack of Rome in 1527, their future national Church was being organised upon new lines. Luther had at first wished that congregations should choose their own pastors, and that afterwards the pastors should choose their superintendent. The Landgrave of Hesse gave in his States the first pattern of that Presbyterian system which now prevails over so many provinces of both Europe and America. But Luther drew back, seeing that the new system was too democratic. He had found his great supporters in the wise Princes of Germany, at a time when the lower classes had rushed into the wildest vagaries. In Germany, as in England, the course of the Reformation was to be shaped by the higher powers ; in France and Holland too a different system was to prevail.

Luther showed himself at this time far more conservative than Calvin or Knox. He forbade his preachers to revile the Pope and the Bishops ; even the use of Latin in the service was tolerated ; the Eucharist in one kind was allowed, as was also Confession. He deemed it his highest honour that he applied the maxims of the Gospel to common life ; the Catechism, which he put forth in 1529, is as childlike as it is deep. The Convents were now thought fair game for high-born plunderers, men at this time much given to drink and these were often enemies of Luther. He denounced this robbery of Church goods as heartily as Knox was to do thirty years later. He once forced himself into the room of his own Elector, to enjoin the duty of protecting Church property. The incomes of poor parishes were largely increased from Conventual sources, and their pastors were brought under the eye of

superintendents chosen by the Prince; the Lutheran Church was struggling into life. The abolition of compulsory clerical celibacy was a boon to mankind; this abolition was a main cause of the fact that Northern Europe was to rise high above the South.

In Hesse large public hospitals, and the new University of Marburg, a rival to Wittenberg, arose upon the ruins of the old system. George, the Margrave of Brandenburg, in 1528 followed in Silesia the Saxon model. The burghers of Nuremberg would no longer listen to the Bishop of Bamberg, and most of the Southern cities trod in the same path. East Friesland cast off the old yoke in 1527; in Schleswig and Holstein the change was most easy. Breslau signalised her conversion by building a new hospital; King Ferdinand, in Silesia, showed very little zeal for the Hapsburg creed. In East Prussia the old Teutonic Order had fallen into utter rottenness; the Bishop of Samland helped on the Reformation; Osiander, a well-known Lutheran preacher, had great influence on the mind of Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, who was at the head of the Order. Two German Princes, friends of the new creed, persuaded King Sigismund of Poland to declare Albert hereditary Duke of Prussia, and this change the Polish Diet confirmed. In 1525 the solemn infeudation (of such importance thereafter to all concerned) took place at Cracow; one alone of the old Teutonic knights made any resistance. The Prussian convents were turned into hospitals, and earnest endeavours were made to convert the subject heathen, the old Slavonian folk. The Reformation was not meant for Germany alone. Further to the North, Livonia began by slow degrees to follow in the wake of East Prussia.

Luther's creed was making its way in most parts of Europe, even into Italy and Spain; Scandinavia was already conquered. The Sorbonne itself was tainted with the new disease. We may bestow one glance upon a hard-working English student, who, unable to print the Bible at home, fled in 1524 to Germany as a sure haven of refuge, sought the help of German printers at Cologne and Worms, and



smuggled his New Testament over to England in 1526. Tyndale, for it was he, afterwards passed some years at Marburg (he Anglicises it into Marlborou), and there printed many of the tracts which acted as blisters upon the councillors of Tudor Royalty. It was the Landgrave's new University, doubtless, that was the cause of Tyndale's sojourn in Hesse. North and South, East and West, did the new ideas fly; and they had a course of fifty years to run before Rome could to any great extent bar their further progress. Germany, at least the greater part of her sons, stood true to her chosen faith, both in 1527 when the Emperor held the Pope captive, and in 1529 when the two Heads of Christendom made a league together; Charles, conqueror of the French, bent upon ruling alike in the North and the South of Italy; Clement, intent upon mastering his rebel Florentines; to him it mattered little what effect this new league might have upon distant England, where Henry was already suggesting the famous Divorce.

But Luther was not to reign as the sole unchallenged Apostle of the new ideas. A Swiss mountaineer was born a few weeks after the German heresiarch, and this child was destined to set on foot a reformation on his own lines. Zwingli felt the influence of the Renaissance most powerfully, and even when a priest put the Greek and Latin classics not far below the Bible. He was keenly alive to the evil course pursued by Switzerland, when, lured by foreign gold, she sent her stout sons to the wars on behalf of the Papacy and other Powers. He was present on the great day of Marignan, where an everlasting term was set to Swiss national victories in the field. He uplifted his voice against this base system of hiring out Swiss levies, and he thus made many enemies. He was called to a cure at Zurich, a State that had vast influence in the Confederation. He soon came forward on Luther's side, though the cheerful, social Switzer never had to undergo the spiritual agonies of the Saxon. In 1522 Zurich began to break away from Rome, and in the next year set up a new form of Church government, going far beyond Luther in many respects, as in pulling down images. In 1524 Zwingli

began to put forth his view of the Eucharist, here differing widely from the more conservative Luther. In 1528 the mighty Canton of Bern, one of the great Aristocracies of the world, was gained to the cause of Reform; and Bern, which was soon followed by Basle, was later to become the shield of Geneva. In St. Gall, Glarus, Appenzell, and the Grisons the old system was tottering. Some towns of Southern Germany, among them renowned Strasburg, preferred Zwingli to Luther.

But some men were eager to outrun their brethren in the way of Reform. Enthusiasts, going far beyond Luther, had appeared at Zwickau so early as 1520, and here Münzer preached his doctrines. In 1522 Zurich was troubled with an heretical school, which broke with Zwingli and soon developed into the Anabaptist communion. The new sectaries were persecuted to the death by both Protestants and Catholics; the German Diet in 1529 ordered the heretics to be killed like wild beasts. But the great prominence of the Anabaptists in Germany was to come a few years later.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1529 was a remarkable one. Charles V. landed in conquered Italy, begirt with his Spanish knights, and showed that he meant in very deed to be Lord of that luckless land; he was soon to be crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope. His brother Ferdinand, backed by the Germans of both creeds, drove the great Sultan Solymán from the walls of Vienna, but could not wrest Hungary from the grasp of the unbelievers. Two other events made the year remarkable; the name of Protestant conferred at Spires, and the unlucky strife between Luther and Zwingli.

It boded ill to the Reformation that the Pope and the Emperor were now once more ranged on the same side; Luther's cause had further been damaged by the fiery heat of Landgrave Philip, while other Princes were waxing lukewarm. The Diet met at Spires, and the Emperor, after announcing by his envoys a future General Council, wished Germany to turn towards the Pope; Luther might have the

<sup>1</sup> Kantsky, *Communism in Central Europe*, 104, 186.

vast majority of the common folk on his side, but he had only a small minority among the Princes and Prelates who sat in the Diet. The Latin Mass, it seemed, would once more be set up. King Ferdinand in vain strove to bring round the Dissentients; these, on April 19, 1529, withdrew into another room, and there compiled their world-renowned Protest, refusing to give up the religious privileges secured to them by former Diets. By a formal instrument the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick Luneburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and fourteen Cities, appealed to the Emperor and to a congress of the German nation. Protestantism had now indeed become a living power in Europe.

A few days after the memorable Protest had been given in, the Reformers began to combine among themselves; leaving open the great question of the Eucharist. They were ready to spring to arms if their religion was touched. They could command the services of many a stout veteran who had helped to lop the French lilies at Pavia, and who had climbed the walls of Rome. But they had reckoned without Luther; he would have nothing to do with men who were unsound in the matter of the Sacrament. The Landgrave, eager to heal the breach, invited both Luther and Zwingli to confer at the Castle of Marburg. All points of difference were there settled, except one, and that one the weightiest of all, the Eucharist. Luther would not budge from the literal meaning of the text; "This is my body"; he refused to look upon the Zwinglians, such as the burghers of Ulm and Strasburg, as his brethren. The worst side of Luther's character is very plain throughout the whole business, whence arose most disastrous theological strife, which was to bring untold damage upon the Protestant cause in Poland and Hungary as well as in Germany. Thus Rome had still one source of consolation, even at the time when whole nations were falling away from her. This dissension tore the Protestants asunder just at the time when the Emperor in Italy was refusing to receive their new Protest. There were also differences in politics. Luther had a most lofty idea of the majesty of the Holy

Roman Empire, and disapproved of all resistance to the Kaiser's will. Christ had submitted to the decision of the official of the Emperor Tiberius; the behests of the Emperor Charles V., the successor of Tiberius (so all believed), should command equal respect from Christ's flock in Germany. Thus religion forbade Luther or his followers to form any league against their temporal Sovereign, at least at present. At the same time he exhorted all men to take up arms against the Turks, who were now threatening Vienna; in this quarrel, his patron, the Saxon Elector, brought thousands of men into the field.

In the spring of 1530 Charles, fresh from his Italian coronation, came into Germany. At his side was Campeggio, talking of the need here of an Inquisition like that of Spain.<sup>1</sup> King Ferdinand was doing his best to hoodwink the Protestants. The new Diet was held at Augsburg; six Electors made a brave show as they entered the old city, headed by the worthy Saxon who bore the drawn sword before the Kaiser. The three Spiritual Electors would not yield precedence to the Pope's Legate. Charles asked the Protestants to put down their preachings, and to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi; this last concession they refused. The Lutherans soon went further; they laid before the Emperor a long statement of their belief, the famous Confession of Augsburg, drawn up by Melancthon, who took a tone that was perhaps too mild. A confutation of this Confession was put forth by the divines on the other side—men resolved to give up little or nothing. At Rome all concession was refused. But Elector John of Saxony, one of the noblest men of the time, stood firm; and Luther, who was now at Coburg, composed his famous hymn, which has been called the *Te Deum* of the Reformation. Charles promised a General Council to decide all questions of religion, but soon had to acknowledge that force was the best remedy. He was at this moment bearded by Lubeck, which became thoroughly Lutheran. Even the

<sup>1</sup> Campeggio's long Memorials to Cæsar should be read in Maurenbrecher, *Karl V.*, 1\*-21\*. He specially recommends that the Saxon Electorate should be transferred to Duke George.



Catholic majority in the Diet set bounds to the Pope's power, and would not allow him to make grants of the revenues of the German Church to King Ferdinand.

Late in 1530 the leading Protestants formed the Schmalkaldic League, whereby they agreed to combine against any assault of Imperial power. Luther seems now to have renounced his former opinion as to non-resistance. The great cities of Magdeburg and Bremen, each the seat of an Archbishop, formed a part of the new League. One of its greatest enemies, King Ferdinand, was early in 1531 chosen to be the future Monarch of Germany by five of the Electors, and to him Charles henceforward made over most of the business of the nation. The two Hapsburg brothers had now to fear a general union of Protestants; for Bucer, one of the most hair-splitting divines that ever lived, was bringing Zwinglian cities, such as Strasburg, to join in the great Northern League.

But this year, 1531, saw a crushing blow dealt to the Protestant cause. Zwingli had gained over a great part of the Cantons to his side; Bern, Basle, and Glarus, and St. Gall had thrown off Rome's yoke. But the Three Cantons, the first foundation of the Swiss League 200 years earlier, were sternly opposed to any breach with the Pope, and two other Cantons took the same view. They refused to tolerate the Reformation in certain bailiwicks, over which both they and Zurich had joint claims. Martyrdoms occurred more than once. The Catholic mountaineers that dwelt around the Lake of Lucerne formed an alliance with their old Hapsburg enemy, so hard was the present stress of affairs. Zwingli, as bold in politics as in religion, wished to effect an entire change in the Swiss Confederation, but even Zurich itself was not ripe for this. The Five Cantons, fearing to be starved out, attacked the Zurich territory, eight thousand strong. Zwingli was rash enough to meet them at Cappel with only two thousand; he was defeated, and slain when lying wounded on the field; the arch-heretic's body was speedily quartered and burnt. The conquerors made use of their victory to restore the Papal religion in many districts whence it had been driven out; Convents were now



given back to their former inmates. Never before had the Five Cantons enjoyed such power. Thus ended the first smart brush in the field between Romanism and Protestantism; the war lasted only six weeks, but it fixed the religious state of the Swiss Cantons down to our own time.

It was now plain that the future defence of the great Cause was laid on Northern Germany. Many of her great cities joined the new Schmalkaldic League; the Princes of Saxony and Hesse took the lead, and a scale of contributions was fixed; the Zwinglians of Southern Germany were admitted; even distant Riga and Revel appealed to the great Union. In 1531 Ferdinand, fearing a fresh Turkish inroad, besought his brother to conciliate the Protestants, and to wink at "their vain beliefs." Charles therefore ordered all proceedings against them to be suspended. It is a mystery why the Almighty has inflicted the Ottoman scourge upon European lands; hardly any good from it has ever resulted to our Continent, if we except the toleration of budding Protestantism due to the Turks, directly in Hungary, indirectly in Germany.

In the spring of 1532 Sultan Solymán, who was well aware of the disputes connected with Luther, came marching through Hungary, as he had done three years earlier, on his road to Vienna. The German Diet was held at Ratisbon, where the Emperor demanded soldiers for the war. It so happened that the Protestant cities were the chief source of the fire-arms and powder required. Charles granted as little as he could, but he satisfied John the Steadfast, Elector of Saxony, "the one father of the German Fatherland in divine and human affairs"; this bulwark of the faith died in the summer of 1532, leaving his dominions to his son, the staunchest of Lutherans both in weal and woe. The Catholics gave the Emperor much trouble, and quarrels were rife among the Protestants. Still Nuremberg took the lead in sending troops and weapons to Vienna, which was supposed to be threatened. But the great Turkish host was baffled by the little town of Günz, and only grazed the German frontier in Styria. Soon Pope Clement, who had no desire for a new Church Council, was

intriguing with Francis I., to whom he gave his niece in 1533. The King was busy fostering discontent in Germany by his skilful agents. Long before this time the Duchy of Wurtemberg had been seized by the Hapsburgs, and its native Duke driven out. The youthful Christopher, the Duke's son, now claimed his right, and the banished ruler was still alive; he found powerful supporters, for King Francis furnished money, and Landgrave Philip, who was not troubled by the scruples of other Lutherans, supplied soldiers. In 1534 a victory was won, whereby Wurtemberg was restored to its rightful owners. Pope Clement had refused to grant any aid to the Hapsburgs in this struggle, much to the disgust of German Catholics. King Ferdinand renounced all claim to the disputed territory, and the Wurtemberg Dukes became pillars of the Protestant cause, connecting Northern Germany with Switzerland. The French King in this year framed that wise policy for France which brought her into close alliance with Protestant States; and this policy, to which the greatest French statesmen have clung, was persisted in for 140 years, bestowing on France many a fine province and city. Only three years later, young Christopher led ten thousand stout Germans to fight for France in Savoy.<sup>1</sup> Wurtemberg speedily became Lutheran, and set up the University of Tübingen; Augsburg had been converted, in spite of the opposition of the Fuggers, the great bankers of the time. Pomerania listened to her own son, Bugenhagen, one of the most earnest of Luther's disciples. In Westphalia the authorities waged war against crowds of zealots. Münster obtained liberty for the new doctrine in 1533. But here the Anabaptists hastened to sow their tares; the wildest notions were set afloat; no longer peasants, but craftsmen, were the converts now sought. John of Leyden appeared in Münster in 1534; his sect had gained many disciples in Holland, and he preached a system of holy sensuality, alluring to women, while he established a community of goods. The Prophet won over the town council, and then drove out all who would not abjure their baptism. The

<sup>1</sup> Pfister, *Herzog Christoph zu Württemberg*, 135.

Bishop, calling for help from all quarters, besieged his city, where John had now proclaimed himself King. The sect were spreading all over Germany, and made converts even among the nobles; it gave much trouble in Holland. But Catholics and Lutherans united in one cause, blockaded Münster, and stormed the town in the spring of 1535. King John, when made prisoner, recanted some of his opinions; he was, with some of his fellows, put to death with red-hot pincers. This Anabaptist revolt brought much discredit upon the Reformation, as the earlier peasants' rising had already done.<sup>1</sup> The reformed clergy of the great cities in the North strove to check the fanatical doctrines by forbidding any one to preach who did not subscribe the Augsburg Confession. In these cities Lutheranism in later years was carried to an extreme.

Another name, besides that of Luther, was invoked in Northern Germany by many who wished to see the Church reformed. Erasmus had long stood in the middle to be the target aimed at by the theologues of both sides. One of his chief admirers was the Duke of Cleves, who had in 1525 denounced Luther's lore as heretical, but who acknowledged the great corruption of the Papal Church. The Prince acted as a lay Pope, telling his clergy, every now and then, what to learn and what to teach. The Duchy of Cleves, like Erasmus, at this time stood neutral. Another disciple of the great man of Rotterdam was Julius Pflug, who was quite ready to give the Cup to the laity and wives to the clergy. Albert, the famous Archbishop of Mayence, was always holding out a hand to the Protestants; and four other Bishops are named who took the same view. A young theologian named Gropper strove to pilot Cologne into the still harbour of neutrality.<sup>2</sup> Yet it cannot be too

<sup>1</sup> But Kantsky (*Communism in Central Europe*) should be read as regards the Anabaptists. He makes it probable that their misdeeds have been exaggerated, and he pulls to pieces the authors who have described the revolt, men who have influenced the whole world in this matter, up to our own date. The reported conduct of the revolt at Münster was most different from that of their brethren in Moravia, where they were the best of citizens. See Kantsky's book, 239-293.

<sup>2</sup> Maurenbrecher, *Geschichte der Katholischen Reformation*, i. 354-362, a book to be studied.

often repeated that Northern Europe was happily inspired when she set Luther above Erasmus.

The Protestant creed at this time had seemed likely to gain a new ally in King Francis. But the fickle Frenchman burnt some of his own heretical subjects, at the very moment, in 1535, that he was making overtures to the Germans. He professed to desire Melanchthon's presence at Paris; but the Saxon Elector, who probably saw further than either Melanchthon or Luther, would not allow the proposed journey. The North was more favourable<sup>1</sup> than France. In 1537 Christian III., the new King of Denmark, established the Lutheran Reformation there and in Norway. The Bishops resisted, and were at once replaced by superintendents; ordained by Bugenhagen.

In 1539 died Duke George of Saxony, an old and stubborn enemy of Luther's, often reviled in the Reformer's letters. The Duke's subjects at once went over to Protestantism; Luther is said to have himself converted the whole town of Leipsic. Another enemy of the Reformation, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, had died in 1535; the new opinions soon began to take root in that province. In 1537 a preacher of the new school was holding forth at Berlin; and Melanchthon rather later appeared there. The Bishop of Brandenburg came over to Lutheranism; the year 1539 was afterwards held in reverence as the year of the great change, when churches were thronged for four hours at a time. The new Elector, Joachim II., was a most moderate man, favourable to all old rites that seemed to be harmless; so much so, that the great preacher Cordatus went to take Luther's opinion as to abolishing certain ceremonies. Schools were soon thriving throughout the land, especially at Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

Another convert was Count William of Nassau, who had long halted between Luther's doctrine and the attrac-

<sup>1</sup> See Camerarius, *Vita Melancthonis*, 156-158. Melanchthon was evidently most eager to go. Shortly afterwards he was waited upon by English envoys; he praised much the learning and courtesy of Nicholas Heath.

<sup>2</sup> See for this, Spiecher, *Geschichte der einföhrung der Reformation in die Mark Brandenburg*, 144, 167, 172, 206.

tions of the Kaiser's Court. He had gone to Wittenberg to convert the new Elector, but had been converted himself. In 1536 he brought into his dominions a Saxon divine named Sarcerius, who acted as Superintendent in Nassau, and compiled a system of theology, which was speedily Englished, and won for a short time the admiration of Henry VIII. One of the youths influenced by the new teaching was Count William's eldest son, who became the renowned Prince of Orange, and who, after a relapse into Romanism at the Hapsburg Court, turned out the main champion of Protestantism.<sup>1</sup>

We must not pass over the worst stain on Luther's scutcheon. In 1539 Landgrave Philip, one of the two main lay pillars of the German Reformation, had taken a disgust to his wife, and wished to marry another lady. Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer disgraced themselves by allowing the second marriage, on condition that it should be kept secret, for fear of scandal. The vile transaction, confessed at the time to be worthy of Mahometans or Anabaptists, was made public in 1679 by the then Elector Palatine, and was of course eagerly pounced upon by the Eagle of Meaux, when at work upon his famous *History of the Variations of Protestantism*, the best book ever written on the other side. The conduct of the three Reformers on this occasion has been the target for many a well deserved shaft;<sup>2</sup> The best homage I can do to the great man, who has made all Northern Europe his debtor, is simply to set out the whole transaction, and to attempt no palliation whatever.

Protestant Germany has since this time been most lax

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England*, 140-145.

<sup>2</sup> Bossuet had a good case, but overshot the mark. He accuses Luther and Melanchthon of showing eagerness for bribes in the shape of Church property that was in the power of the Landgrave. No public man ever showed so little covetousness as Luther, who was content with his modest home and with the gifts that poured in from his followers. But he was anxious, like Knox thirty years later, to save Church property from grasping nobles for the service of God, and in this matter the Landgrave offered to gratify him. See Hare's *Vindication of Luther*, pp. 274-279, where Bossuet is shown up. I wish that some one would go over all Bossuet's quotations in his famous book.



in her regulations as to marriage; her Princes have indulged in shameful tamperings with the Divine law, and some curious results have followed. Another vice to which the Germans were much given, both now and later, was that of drunkenness. Badoer, sent to a German Diet towards the end of the Century, reports, "In Germany so much is eaten and so much more is drunk, that any German who may show moderation at table can only be reputed to be in bad health." The Emperors did their best to check this vice; fines and temperance societies were instituted, but no good resulted. An observer of 1541 declares that those who had subscribed temperance ordinances a few years earlier were foremost in excess at the Diet of Ratisbon; among other Princes, Landgrave Philip and William of Bavaria are named, representing two creeds. The Emperor's own son, Philip of Spain, tried to win the hearts of all true Germans by drinking more than was good for him. In North Germany drinking was so firmly established that it was hopeless to think of moderating it, as even Bishops confessed. The land was divided into various drink-provinces, recognised by the laws. The Duke of Lignitz, at the Emperor's Court, was drunk during the whole time of his sojourn there.<sup>1</sup> These were the men whom Luther had to mould.

In the same year, 1539, a new German Assembly passed decrees in favour of the Lutherans, much against the will of Pope Paul III. They perhaps owed their success to the fact that they were at the time negotiating with both France and England; moreover, the Turk always seemed ready for another onslaught.<sup>2</sup> A Diet met at Worms late in 1540, where Granvelle represented the Emperor; here Eck and Melanchthon tilted against each other, on the doctrine of original sin. In March 1541 a new Diet met at Ratisbon; Charles was present, eager for reconciliation, and he employed such mild theologians as Gropper

<sup>1</sup> See *Memoirs of the Princess Palatine*, by the Baroness Blaze de Bury, 115-120.

<sup>2</sup> Luther, as his *Table Talk* proves, was shocked at the new English Six Articles, and gave thanks to God that the German Protestants refused to enter into alliance with the fickle Henry VIII.

and Pflug, who answered to Melanchthon on the other side. These were reinforced by the Legate, Contarini, the noblest of all Roman emissaries, a man whom Protestants may bracket with Fenelon. This envoy placed, contrary to the Pope's orders, the question of Papal supremacy last, and not first, for debate. The two parties agreed (though Eck made difficulties) upon the articles of human nature, original sin, redemption, and justification. All the Italian Reformers were rejoicing; Pole remarked that on justification everything else rested. Never were the North and South, hitherto torn apart, so near agreement as in 1541. But Luther, who refused to attend the Diets, could not believe in Eck's sincerity; some of the Cardinals at Rome disliked the declaration as to justification; and King Francis, who had no wish to see an united Germany, remonstrated with Pope Paul against Contarini's concessions. The Duke of Bavaria had little love for the very moderate Catholics, who now seemed to stand so high in Cæsar's favour. The upshot was, that Contarini's formula was rejected at Rome, and he had to eat his own words. Men of his type were soon to make way at headquarters for the founders of the Roman Inquisition.<sup>1</sup>

These proceedings at Ratisbon were watched by young Calvin, who had been chosen as deputy by the town of Strasburg. Unlike the German Protestants, he had a thorough mistrust of all the Papal advocates. It seems from his account that Transubstantiation was the great stumbling-block in the way of peace. Granvelle used hard words when a paper of Melanchthon's was handed in to him. Calvin writes: "If we could be satisfied with a half Christ, we should soon agree." He disliked the concessions of Bucer and Melanchthon, but was convinced that Luther would stand fast. Calvin had already, in the matter of the Eucharist, taken ground half-way between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians. At Ratisbon he formed a friendship with Melanchthon, which was to last, with some wear and tear, for twenty years. The Frenchman seems to have procured some help for his Protestant countrymen, now

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke's *History of the Popes*, i. 110-128.

sorely persecuted, by getting all the German Princes to address a letter to King Francis, begging for mercy.<sup>1</sup> It was an unhappy thing that Luther disliked coming to the Diets; perhaps had he and Calvin met at Ratisbon, they might have understood each other.

Charles now left for Italy, and once more demanded a General Council from the Pope. Another Diet met at Spires in 1542, where Morone, who shared Contarini's opinions, acted as Papal Legate; the Protestants were not to be lured by his promises, and insisted that the proposed Council should be held on German ground. The third war between Charles and Francis was now in full swing, and this delayed the Council for two years. At another Diet of Spires, held early in 1544 by Charles himself, the Protestants were as eager as the Catholics to send troops against the French persecutor of heretics; this conduct produced a most favourable edict from the Emperor in behalf of his own erring subjects. Pope Paul thundered against this scandalous toleration, and Luther was equally bitter against Rome. In 1545 a new Diet met at Worms; the war with France was now over, but the Lutherans were stubborn as ever in their refusal to come as culprits before the Council, which actually met at Trent, late in this year; a rival colloquy at Ratisbon came to nothing.

The Lutheran cause had lately gained two most important converts, Hermann von Wied, the Archbishop of Cologne, and Frederick, the Elector Palatine. The former had been for years attempting the reform of his diocese with the aid of Bucer. But his Chapter and the University, supported by all the clergy, had protested against any innovations, and had appealed to both the Pope and the Emperor. In 1545 each of these potentates summoned Hermann, one of the three Spiritual Electors of Germany, to appear before them; he in turn appealed to the Schmalkaldic League, which debated this affair early in 1546. At the same time the Elector Palatine abolished the Mass, though he did not join the League. His successors for some years wavered between Luther's doctrines and a more

<sup>1</sup> See Henry's *Life of Calvin*, i. ch. 17.

extreme variety of Protestantism, enforcing the creed of the moment upon their subjects; the shiftings to and fro of the unlucky Palatinate afford much amusement to Bossuet.

On February 18, 1546, Germany lost her greatest son, who had stirred her to her greatest depths, the author of a mighty change in Europe, whereof we Northern men are, to this day, reaping the benefit. His very faults seem to have been of service to his cause; for the violent abuse, lavished by him on his high-born enemies, acted as an encouragement to his partisans, the majority of the German nation. When men's hearts were failing them for fear, a voice would ring out, proclaiming to all that there was One above who could bridle both Pope and Turk. Courage was the leading feature in Luther's character, and this being so, it is strange that he commonly shrank from appealing to the sword. He rises high above all the other Reformers in his refusal to use violent means for the conversion of men. But up to the last he expressed his hatred of the Zwinglians; here his prejudices, somewhat too strained for a Reformer, were to do much harm to the Protestant cause in future years. Conservative to the backbone, he would never make changes simply for the love of innovation; he enjoined the elevation of the Host for many years after his breach with Rome. But he never wavered in his theory, that every man must answer for himself to God, that the heart must be touched from above before it can bring forth good works, that sin cannot be cleared away by simple adherence to a world-embracing Church, strong in her appeal to the past. His creed, unlike that of Voltaire, was not negative, but vehemently positive; Luther could build up as well as pull down. The gate to heaven lies, he proclaimed, not through this Church, but through Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, fifteen hundred years before. So opposed was he to the works and penances that were of old deemed necessary to salvation, that he often landed himself in the other extreme, and seemed to favour Antinomianism. He claimed for himself a liberty of Scriptural interpretation that he refused to others, such as Zwingli and Carlstadt. With all his faults, Germany has

bred few men like him. She has not been ungrateful; her noblest sons have highly exalted him. Thus Stein remarked to a friendly priest; "We who pray with Luther and Calvin have beaten you who pray to Saints, in every battle we have had with you. And it could not be otherwise. One Commander in heaven will make far stouter soldiers than a divided command. One God and still one God and God alone! Still to the One, to the Highest, be heart and hands lifted up!"<sup>1</sup>

If we contrast the teaching of Luther with that of Calvin, the aim of the first was, to preserve all not forbidden by the Bible; the aim of the second was, to sweep away all not enjoined by the Bible. Hence Luther's principles appeal to all who love art; the churches of his followers stand much as these buildings stood in 1500; the Roman Catholics have spoiled many a noble old fane by adding crowds of gaudy ornaments later than Loyola's time; the Calvinists have inflicted upon us a wilderness of white-wash. It is sad to contrast Amsterdam with Nuremberg. But after Luther's death his creed seemed to degenerate into stagnation. His followers were guided by the behests of local Princes, while Calvin rejected all State government of his Church, making it a confederation of small democracies. He inspired his partisans with his own fiery spirit, which sent thousands of them to the stake in many a European country, while Lutheranism after its founder's death, could boast of very few martyrs. There was always among German Protestants too great a love for Royal power, and this is one of the causes of Lutheran barrenness in our own day.<sup>2</sup>

The great Reformer, whose end was welcomed with rapture by the Council of Trent, died at a happy moment for himself, when Charles V. was plotting the overthrow of German heresy, with the help of his Spanish and Italian

<sup>1</sup> Seeley, *Life of Stein*, iii. 553. I fear that Stein's theory is not altogether confirmed by History; witness the history of Bohemia.

<sup>2</sup> Merle d'Aubigné, in his *Discourses and Essays*, has some good remarks on the difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism, in one of his Chapters. He tells us that the fall of Charles X. in 1830 was hailed with joy by the Calvinists, with sorrow by the Lutherans.



soldiery. We have an account of the Emperor and his followers, drawn up at this most critical time by Navagero, the envoy of Venice, who had followed Charles about for the last three years.<sup>1</sup> The quiet and modest Court is described, where the well-paid Granvelle was the leading spirit; his son, the future Cardinal and Minister of Philip II., was already a man of mark. The great weakness of the Flemish Emperor was greediness, which brought on asthma and gout; these were by degrees wasting away his strength and energy.<sup>2</sup> Caution and patience were the great features of his character. He owed much to the great Captains of the early part of his reign, but these were mostly gone; however, there was still Alva, the hero of Perpignan, in the background. In time of war Charles became all at once active and mirthful; he would see to everything himself, and do the work of a subaltern. His lieutenants were fiercely jealous of each other. His German soldiery, a drunken set, were the best paid and the least available; they had been guilty of the most profane excesses in the late French war; they would insist on getting their pay at the appointed moment. Even the lowest of them were addressed by their Kaiser with the utmost deference and caution. The Spanish soldiers were sober and temperate, but were few in number, for they much preferred to make their fortunes in the Golden Indies than to undergo hard knocks in Europe. The Italians were courageous, but so ill paid that they often broke into mutiny; their cavalry was badly treated and badly mounted. Charles regarded the Pope in two lights, as the head of Religion and as a temporal Prince; he gave little credit to Pope Paul's promises; the rest of Italy, except Venice, seemed to be at the Emperor's beck. Charles, though slow and phlegmatic, was on the best of terms with his quick and choleric brother Ferdinand; it was a remarkable union. The Emperor stood in great awe of the victorious Turkish arms; he told the Pope that God seemed to intend them all to become

<sup>1</sup> It may be found in *Bradford's Correspondence of Charles V.*, 435-479.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Court proverb referring to the religious Emperor, *Dalla messa alla mensa*.

Mahometans; "but I," said he, "shall certainly put off my conversion to the very last." He was now about to meddle with the Princes of Germany, who had never liked him; Alva had already been made Captain-General, but the army could not hold together longer than two years.

In truth, never did wise man plan a more foolish undertaking; mighty Germany, the nurse of soldiers, was now to be trodden underfoot; yet at any subsequent moment either the French King or the Turkish Sultan, though not ready for war at present, might strike in and upset the Emperor's craftily-laid scheme; this Navagero most clearly foresaw. But in the summer of 1546 Charles no longer took the trouble to dissemble his warlike views; he found some adherents even among the Protestants, who were not united at this juncture. He himself opened the Diet at Ratisbon; he declared that he would not meddle with religion, but insisted on upholding his rights as Emperor. Paul III. was more honest; he had already deprived the Archbishop of Cologne for heresy; the Pope now engaged himself to furnish Charles with a large army, directed against the heretics; he promised indulgences to all who should take part in the new Crusade.<sup>1</sup> The Protestants in vain appealed for help to all neighbouring lands. They behaved with astonishing sluggishness; they would not allow their General, Schertlin, to occupy the Tyrolese passes. The Emperor, still in the heart of Germany, published the ban against the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave; the Papal troops, led by Paul's grandson, were soon making their way to the Danube. Another army came to the Emperor's help from Flanders. He gained a valuable recruit in Maurice of Saxony, the ablest German then living, a Lutheran Prince, who forsook the national cause and overran the domains of his cousin the Saxon Elector. The Protestants were guilty of the folly of dividing their great army; some of them in the South sent in their submission to the Emperor, and had to provide him with money.

<sup>1</sup> Maurenbrecher, *Karl V.*, gives us many State papers showing how the Pope proposed to extract huge sums from the Spanish Church for this new Crusade.

Early in 1547 the Archbishop of Cologne resigned his see, a triumph for the Pope. That potentate, who had been a foe to the Protestant rebels in the foregoing year, now transferred his hatred to his natural enemy the Emperor. Imperial power in Italy, now far too great, must be checked by sound Italian patriots. Paul therefore recalled his troops, and thus delayed the victory of the Empire. In him the Italian King had got the better of the Head of the Church, and this Roman policy, happily for mankind, meets us again and again.

Early in 1547, in spite of the Pope's desertion, Charles, who had Alva and Maurice at his side, won the great victory of Mühlberg over the blundering Lutherans, and soon made both the Saxon Elector and the Landgrave of Hesse his prisoners.<sup>1</sup> No Kaiser for three hundred years had wielded such power in Germany. About this time died his old enemy, King Francis, who had been pursuing the usual French policy, and furnishing the Protestants with money. Charles laid enormous fines upon his German rebels, and Bohemia was equally humbled. He seized on the Cathedral of Augsburg, and purified it for his own worship. But his old ally the Pope now crossed the schemes of Charles by transferring the Council of Trent to Bologna. Paul became at this time, owing to the murder of his son, more bitter than ever against the Emperor.

Sastrow, an agent of the Pomeranian Duke, has left us a lively picture of these times. He was long under the care of a noble countryman, who had stabbed his own cousin, and who was now serving the Kaiser with nine-and-twenty horse. Sastrow describes a fight between the Spanish soldiers and their German comrades, where the former lost seventy men killed and the latter only eighteen; Charles himself had to interfere. The Spaniards carried away from the Bishopric of Bamberg alone four hundred women; in vain did Charles erect a gallows every evening before his tent. We hear of a drunken Duke (this was a most common

<sup>1</sup> Avila, in his *Commentaries* on this war, printed in 1550, boasts that Charlemagne took thirty years to conquer the Saxons, Charles V. hardly three months, p. 144.

vice) who ruined his own health and also his people. Spaniards lay both day and night in the room of the captive Landgrave. Play and banqueting went on among the conquerors in the late strife. We can see how unstable was the Kaiser's throne; the German soldiery, who had been left unpaid for months, broke out into mutiny, shouting "Either money or blood!" They were paid and disbanded, but the wily Charles sent spies after them, and hanged on the gallows those who had abused him in their cups.<sup>1</sup>

In May 1548 he put forth the Interim, so named because its rules were meant to be but temporary. This body of divinity embraced most of the Roman opinions, while the marriage of priests and the grant of the Cup to the laity were at the same time tolerated. The Emperor, usually a wise man, thought that the German mind, which had been glowing with the most fiery religious heat for the last thirty years, could be satisfied with this wretched compromise. The Diet durst make no opposition. But the Interim was attacked from both sides; Melancthon was reviled by his Protestant brethren for granting too much to the enemy; while the Roman Court likened Charles V. to King Uzziah, who laid profane hands on things sacred. Pope Paul himself foretold with truth that the new compilation could not last long. It was enforced upon the cities of Southern Germany by the Spanish soldiers. Some Princes accepted it; among these was Maurice, to whom the dominions and Electorate of his captive kinsman had been lately made over. The late Elector and the Landgrave were treated with brutal cruelty, and here Charles was guilty of a shameful breach of faith.

Many a German rimer pointed his shafts against the Interim. Many a pastor refused all compliance with the unclean thing. It had been in part drawn up by Agricola, who stood high in the favour of the Brandenburg Court. One of his brethren, who had been summoned to Berlin with three hundred other pastors to sign the obnoxious document, declared: "I hold Agricola dear, my Prince

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, i. 168-181.

dearer, but Jesus Christ dearest," and so threw the paper into the fire.<sup>1</sup>

Late in 1549 died the aged Paul III., who was replaced by Julius III., a Pope careless and luxurious, more devoted to the Emperor than to the French King. In 1550 Maurice began to show tokens of lukewarmness in the Imperial cause, and would not appear at the Diet; the new Elector, now denounced throughout Germany as a Judas, was soon to become his country's saviour. He was at this moment professing himself a strong Protestant. The city of Magdeburg was standing out, in the cause of religion, against the Emperor; Maurice undertook to besiege the rebels and to force them to acknowledge their Kaiser. In 1551 the Council of Trent met once more, and Charles, eager to further his pet project, promised a safe conduct to any German Princes and divines who would consent to attend the great assembly; he threatened with his vengeance all who did not conform to the Interim. Mighty as he was, he failed to achieve the election of his son Philip as the future Emperor; the German Princes preferred the cheery Ferdinand, whom they knew well, to a sullen Spanish stranger.

War broke out first in Italy, where Henry of France backed the Farnesi against both Pope and Emperor: the King protested in vain against renewing the Council of Trent in such stormy times. Charles took strong measures in Swabia, whence he was able to drive out most of the Protestant ministers. He also heard of the submission of Magdeburg to his supposed ally Maurice, late in the year; the citizens seemed to be on the best terms with their conqueror, who still kept his army together, and affected great zeal for the council of Trent. He had now formed an alliance with the King of France, who engaged to furnish

<sup>1</sup> Spieker, in his *Brandenburg Reformation*, p. 229, gives a specimen of the rimes:

Der Türke hat seinen Alkoran;  
Das Interim führt auf dieselbe bahn;  
Christus, sein Wort and Belial  
Sollen eins sein in Glauben überall.

In the next page is a mock Catechism, showing how fierce was the German hatred of Rome. See also p. 228.



money and to attack Lorraine; England, though solicited, gave nothing. At the same time the Turk was threatening Ferdinand from the East. Meanwhile Charles, who knew not that the ground was being mined beneath his feet, once more refused to release his two noble captives; he thought that his German subjects had no head for intrigues.

The eventful year 1552 came, and Maurice threw off the mask in March, forcing his way with great speed towards Innsbruck, where the Emperor was. The rebel proclaimed that his purpose in taking up arms was to secure Protestantism and also the laws of the Empire. Charles, tortured by the gout, was taken at unawares by the despised German boors; he had no troops at hand; the great Emperor of the Romans was soon flying over the Alps by torchlight, escaping the onset of his foes by only a few hours; the work upon which he had spent six toilsome years fell with a crash. Maurice was at one end of the Tyrol and the Fathers of Trent at the other; these were at once scattered, not to come together again for many years. The bold rebel met King Ferdinand and some of the German Princes at Passau; Catholics as well as Protestants demanded toleration for the Lutherans and freedom for all Germany. The Emperor yielded most unwillingly. In the summer the famous compact of Passau was signed, which set free the two captive Princes, granted toleration, and admitted Protestants to sit as judges in the Imperial chamber. Hitherto the new religion, so often assailed in the Diets, had existed upon mere connivance or precarious expedients; henceforth it had a firm groundwork. All this was due to the treacherous Maurice and to the persecuting King of France.

This Sovereign had made the most of the chance given him by the Emperor's folly, and had seized upon Metz, Toul, and Verdun, two of which cities are still held by France. The famous siege of Metz followed in the autumn, and here Charles left the bones of thousands of his best German, Spanish, and Italian soldiers, men idly thrown away. Thus ended the famous year 1552, and also the Emperor's good fortune.

The most remarkable event of 1553 was the death of Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony; he was slain, when only thirty-one, in a pitched battle against a high-born robber. This is one of the few deaths that have changed the fate of nations; what might not have been effected for Germany by Maurice in close alliance with the future Emperor Maximilian II.? We may safely say that the Calvinists in France and Holland, backed by such allies, would have been spared frightful suffering, and perhaps the Thirty Years' War might have been staved off. Maurice was mourned by his countrymen, whether Protestants or Catholics, both alike owing much to his boldness and wiliness. His place as Elector was taken by his brother Augustus, the forefather of the reigning house.

The Convention of Passau was confirmed at Augsburg in 1555; here a Peace was made whereby the property of the Lutherans was secured to them by King Ferdinand and the Diet, but at the same time the blunder was made of excluding Zwinglians and Calvinists. The infamous maxim now prevailed which gave a German ruler the right to enforce his own religion upon his subjects.<sup>1</sup> If a Catholic Prelate should embrace Lutheranism, he was at once to leave his see, and a new election was to be held. This last article, due to Ferdinand himself, became a future bulwark of German Catholicism, which at this moment seemed to be waning away; Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the three Spiritual Electorates seemed to be almost the only German territories left to Rome. Badoer, not long after, declares that one-tenth of the Germans were Catholic, seven-tenths Lutheran; the rest belonged to other sects.<sup>2</sup>

Charles V., in the summer of 1556, resigned the crown of the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand, after many fruitless efforts to nominate young Philip. The new Emperor Elect, when crowned at Frankfort in 1558, dutifully sent the account of his election to the Pope. But this Pope was Paul IV., the haughtiest Pontiff that ever strove to bring back the old days of the Gregories and

<sup>1</sup> Shortly expressed thus : *cujus regio, ejus religio*.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II.*, p. 34.

Innocents. He avowed that it belonged to the Pope alone to name another Emperor; that the Protestant Electors, who had chosen Ferdinand, had by their apostacy forfeited their right of election; and that the new Emperor, by ratifying concessions in favour of the Lutherans, had made himself unworthy of the Empire. Still, if Ferdinand would make profession of repentance for the past, he might expect some favour from the Pope.<sup>1</sup> Even Philip of Spain could not prevail on Paul to desist from these haughty claims; the Pope would never during his life acknowledge Ferdinand as Emperor. It must be allowed that the Protestants at this time owed much to Rome; she became wiser seventy years later.

Ferdinand, the new Sovereign of Germany, was a frank and jovial Prince, who had made himself a thorough German, fonder of peace than of war, yet too harsh if he once thought that his dignity had been insulted. He was, after his brother's abdication, fairly impartial between Catholic and Protestant; members of the latter creed were to be found in his household. The Venetian envoys dwell upon his unspotted life and his constant fear of God. Under him stood the Electors; first Augustus of Saxony, brother of the famous Maurice; this Prince, the lay head of the Lutherans, drew immense wealth from his mines and the taxes. Of all the German rulers, he was the one most courted by foreign envoys. Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, was a good-natured Prince, who aimed at carrying out the Reformation without violence; his territories prospered, and abounded in men of learning.<sup>2</sup> As yet there was little difference between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern in the mildness of their religious views. The Electors Palatine were, at this time, most unstable in their creed. Another most worthy Protestant Prince, though not an Elector, was Duke Christopher of Wirtemberg—wise, righteous, and

<sup>1</sup> See in *Ribier*, ii. 746, 759, Paul's talks with the French envoy on these matters; he compared Ferdinand, palliating the faults of his heretical son, to Eli.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II.*, p. 18, 19. This work should be read for all German affairs about this time.

peaceful ; a bulwark of the faith in the eyes of both Germans and French Huguenots, and a bosom friend of young Maximilian, the future Emperor.<sup>1</sup> Albert V., the Duke of Bavaria, was Ferdinand's son-in-law, a hater of Spaniards, though a follower of the Pope ; his nobles were many of them attached to Luther's creed. This was most powerful in the Austrian Duchies, where toleration was as yet the rule. It was said that throughout Germany there was barely one priest unmarried out of every hundred ; female Canons might be seen in Cathedrals. The Papal interdict, formerly feared worse than death, was now laughed at. " This country will soon be wholly lost to Rome," writes a Venetian envoy in 1557. The two parties dwelt peacefully side by side ; the officials of the Bishops were mostly Protestants. Intermarriages between men of different creeds were common. As yet, it is plain, the Jesuits had not fairly buckled to their work in Germany.

Trade flourished ; the chief Baltic ports had each more than a hundred ships of its own. They made an immense profit by acting as carriers of English goods. A Venetian visiting Nuremberg, which was called the daughter of Venice, pronounced that in frugality the mother must yield to the child. Three hundred pieces of artillery, the terror of the Turks, were stored in this the mightiest city of Germany, a burgh governed by her ruling families. She had a wealthy neighbour in Augsburg, where dwelt the richest money-changers in the world. The famous Frankfurt fair was frequented by most of the nations of Europe. Berlin had already become opulent. Copper mines were worked with extraordinary success, and Ferdinand drew a great revenue from the silver found in his Austrian domains. Wealth and comfort were widely spread through the land ; the effects of the Emperor Charles's invasion were soon repaired, and no one at this time could have foretold the Thirty Years' War.

<sup>1</sup> See *Christopher's Life*, by Pfister. The Duke seems an all but perfect character ; his one fault was that he did not very zealously promote union between Lutherans and Calvinists ; his great oracle was the bigoted Brentius.

But when we turn from the works of worldly prosperity to the vagaries of theology, the contrast is most striking. Luther's hand, long cold in death, was no longer available to guide a most unruly team; Melanchthon had lost much of Protestant veneration, owing to his feeble resistance to the Interim. Many of the greatest Lutheran preachers had been driven into exile, on account of that ill-omened compilation. They came back full of frenzied imaginations, and went far beyond Luther. One of them maintained that good works were positively detrimental to salvation. The leader of these men was the Illyrian Wlacich (Latinized into Flacius Illyricus), who became Melanchthon's bitterest foe.<sup>1</sup> One of the new teacher's doctrines was, that original sin was the actual substance of the human soul.<sup>2</sup> These men persecuted all who could not adopt their most peculiar ideas. One of their worst outrages was perpetrated upon the famous Laski, who as a heretic was driven from England in 1553 on Queen Mary's accession, and was followed by 175 disciples, no friends to the Augsburg Confession. On their landing in Denmark, a Lutheran chaplain preached against the exiles, and persuaded the King to drive them out in most inclement weather. Westphalus, a bigoted Lutheran minister, called them the devil's martyrs. The cities of Northern Germany showed equal vehemence, condemning the strangers' doctrine without a hearing. Laski afterwards, at Frankfort, all but united the two jarring sects of Protestantism, but his work was spoiled by a Southern bigot, Brentius, zealous for the doctrine of Ubiquity. After conferring with Melanchthon at Wittenberg, Laski went home to Poland.<sup>3</sup>

It was in 1552 that Westphalus began to stir up strife between Lutherans and Zwinglians as to the nature of the Eucharist, while Calvin stood as a mediator between the two parties. "Would that Luther were alive!" said the Frenchman; "these men have none of his virtues,

<sup>1</sup> Camerarius, in his *Life of Melanchthon*, says, p. 289; "in Flacio perfecta cognitio linguæ Germanicæ nunquam fuit."

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II.*, 70-87.

<sup>3</sup> Krasinski, *Reformation in Poland*, i. 264-270.



but think to prove themselves his disciples by their clamours." Calvin wrote bitterly against the firebrand Westphalus, and a war of pamphleteers was soon raging. The Lutheran asserted that his Church might be likened to the angels in heaven. Calvin answered, "O Luther, how many hast thou left who imitate like apes thy peculiarities!" Melanchthon stood apart from the theological fray, and was therefore abused by both sides; he was now near his end. As a general rule, the Lutherans were all for disunion, the Calvinists for union.<sup>1</sup> The state of the Palatinate about this time affords ample ground for the subsequent strictures of Bossuet and Dollinger. The religion of the land shifted according to the likings of its Prince; here was indeed Cæsaro-Papism. The country was first Lutheran; in 1565 it was made Calvinist; in 1579 it became Lutheran again; in 1585 it became Calvinist again, a weighty fact in German History. In Saxony, even torture was resorted to, that Crypto-Calvinism (barbarous was the jargon of the age) might be put down.

The Elector Augustus was resolved to abolish Calvinism in his States, and imprisoned Melanchthon's son-in-law, who had striven to bring in the obnoxious creed for many long years. The pure Lutheran doctrine was embodied in 1576 in the *Book of Torgau*, and afterwards in the *Formula of Concord*, which established that discord should henceforth be the rule in Germany. All hope of healing the schism was now at an end, though some of the Lutheran States would have nothing to do with the new document. Rome was to reap a glorious harvest from the Protestant follies.<sup>2</sup>

Flacius found a better occupation for himself when he and some others published the *Magdeburg Centuries* in thirteen volumes; purporting to be a history of Christianity coming down to the Middle Ages. If this work had been left unrefuted, the merits of Protestantism over Catholicism would have been made clear to all the world. Hence Cardinal Baronius undertook to refute the heretical work in his *Annals of the Church*, wherein he gives many valuable

<sup>1</sup> See Henry's *Life of Calvin*, part iii., chapter vii.

<sup>2</sup> See Mosheim's *History*, iii. 341.

documents, drawn from the Vatican store.<sup>1</sup> History was much the gainer; many old authors were about this time given to the press; among these was our own Matthew Paris, whose work must indeed have been a revelation.

Cardinal Commendone gives us much information as to the state of Germany at this time. He was sent early in 1561 to Naumburg, where the Protestant Princes were assembled; these he wished to bring to the Council, soon to meet again at Trent. The Germans rose when the Pope's envoys appeared, but would not offer their hands. The future Cardinal made a long speech in the usual key as to the perils of sound religion. But the Princes debated among themselves, objected to the Pope's calling them his children, and took a most bitter tone. Commendone touched upon their many religious divisions, and spoke of Rome as a hen eager to gather her chickens under her wings. Divisions indeed there were; the Elector Palatine had lately made a change in his creed, and was now reviled by his own son-in-law as a Calvinist and a renegade from the Confession of Augsburg. Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, appeared to be somewhat amenable to the Pope's claims. Joachim, the Elector of Brandenburg, entertained the Italian most courteously at Berlin, and seemed ripe for conversion, were he not led astray by his counsellors.<sup>2</sup> Commendone could not help weeping when he saw so many abbeys and churches in ruins. The young King of Denmark, who was hardly ever sober, refused to see any envoy from the Bishop of Rome. Commendone describes the Germans as a rough and intractable folk; the Church had once softened their manners, but since Luther's revolt they had gone back to their old barbarous humour and natural brutality. He made his report to Pope Pius IV. in 1562, and accused his brethren, the German priests, of committing all kinds of license, and of being led by interest rather than by zeal for religion; the Bishops were more

<sup>1</sup> See on this point Mosheim's *History*, iii. 265.

<sup>2</sup> The Hohenzollerns were not then so frugal as they afterwards became. The Elector wanted to give Commendone the four finest horses in his stable, a first-rate watch, and other valuable things.—P. 517 of the Cardinal's *Life*.

eager to uphold their own rank than to bring back the true worship of God; they strove to win the good graces of the laity by base compliances; some had even renounced the Pope; they were most unwilling to come to Trent as ordered. So highly did Pope Pius think of Commendone that this envoy was sent once more northward from Trent to break up the probable union of the Emperor Ferdinand and the ambitious Cardinal of Lorraine, the pair representing Germany and France.<sup>1</sup>

The great German bishoprics were a tempting bait to Protestants. One Archbishop of Magdeburg had professed his adherence to the new creed, and had been left undisturbed in his domains and honours; his city did more to defend Protestantism than any other town in Germany. The Archbishop of Bremen kept his rank, even after marriage. A Protestant, who held Lubeck, was confirmed therein by both Pope and Emperor. In Osnabruck a Catholic and Protestant Bishop alternated. The Abbess of Quedlinburg was a Protestant. Her party claimed that a Protestant chapter might elect a Protestant Bishop; but the nation did not wholly deny the Pope's right to confirm Prelates. It seemed at this time that Germany might perhaps hope to establish a settled government, to which both Catholics and Lutherans might conform.<sup>2</sup>

If any man could have brought about this happy state of things, that man was the new Emperor, Maximilian II., already half a Protestant, who came to the crown in 1564. Before his accession he had lamented that his father did not do more towards opening the spiritual Electorates to Protestants.<sup>3</sup> Such ideas in high places must be checked; Commendone therefore, now a Cardinal, was once more sent into Germany in 1565. He, the Emperor, and Duke Albert of Bavaria ate at one table, promoted above the Empress and her daughters. Maximilian was displeased when the news came that so staunch a champion as Pius V., an old Inquisitor, had been chosen Pope. Commendone

<sup>1</sup> *Vie du Commendone*, 96-132.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II.*, chap. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.

attended the Diet of Augsburg, holding a small assembly of his own, consisting of the three Spiritual Electors, the faithful Bavarian, and a few others; he specially recommended to them the decrees of Trent. The Archbishop of Mayence, in answer to this, claimed certain privileges from Rome. The heretics were now pressing Maximilian to declare himself, and to alter certain articles of the Convention of Passau. But the Italian stood in the way of the heretics, and nothing could be done; the new Pope sent fifty thousand crowns for the Turkish war, now threatening.

Some months later Pius sent Commendone, an indispensable man, back to Germany, though the Emperor was loth to receive the envoy. "Is it not shameful," wrote the Duke of Bavaria, "that the Turkish Ambassador is received, while difficulties are thrown in the way of the Pope's Legates?" The Emperor avowed that he had resolved to permit the people of Austria the exercise of one of their religions, the Lutheran, since that most resembled Rome. Revolt was in the air. "The heretics have left the Church," answered Commendone; "does it matter what sect they follow? They openly boast that they pay you a vast sum for this religious liberty. It is the Pope alone who can handle such matters." Pius ordered his envoy to shake the dust of Vienna off his feet if the Kaiser should execute his plan. The struggle was long, but the Spanish Ambassador was incited to tell Maximilian that the tolerance in vogue did much harm to Spain, and that evil effects might follow; for instance, the Kaiser's daughter would never be allowed to marry King Philip, who was now free to wed again. Maximilian yielded to this reasoning, and submitted to the Holy See.

Commendone was now, in 1568, ordered to set about the reformation of the German Church. The Archbishop of Salzburg assembled a provincial council, the first for a long time, and here salutary ordinances were enacted. The Italian's next dispute with Maximilian was on the subject of the new title of Grand Duke, given by the Pope to Cosmo de' Medici. The grant of this title, according to Maximilian, belonged to the Empire, and not to the Papacy. Commen-

done gave a long historical lecture, enforcing the Papal right to bestow European crowns ; it was, he said, the Pope who transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans. The affair was decided at last by the Tuscan Prince paying a sum of money for his new title to the Roman Emperor.<sup>1</sup>

The Imperial Eagle at this time was not soaring high. The bold Zriny, who more than any other warrior is the modern counterpart of Leonidas, was allowed to perish under the Turkish scymetars, when his fort could hold out no longer, though there was a huge German host not far off. Germany, now at peace within herself, sent her sons to bleed on either side in the civil wars of France ; and there, as at Moncontour, they sometimes encountered each other. There was but one lay Prince in Germany upon whom Rome could smile, and that was the ruler of Bavaria. Here, in 1563, the nobles were conspiring against the Duke ; all through this Century some tendency of this kind may be traced in some of the German Electorates and Princedoms ; the Duke was threatened with the introduction of Protestantism against his will. The Southern bishoprics seemed at one time likely to be altogether lost to Rome ; but the example of the Duke, a new Josiah, forwarding Jesuit schemes, burning heretical books, driving out the obstinate, told mightily in the land. He brought up, in his own faith, the young heir of Baden-Baden.<sup>2</sup> About 1570 the Abbot of Fulda, most different from his six predecessors, drove out Protestant preachers and Protestant officials ; he built a school for the Jesuits, and paid little heed to his angry nobles.<sup>3</sup> These Jesuit fathers had already opened colleges in the Rhenane Electorates, whence they confronted the rival University of Heidelberg ; Ingolstadt, their best-beloved seat, seemed likely to prove a match for both Wittenberg and Geneva. So good was the Jesuit teaching in their Latin schools, that Protestant parents sent their children thither, even from a distance. The great champion of the Order, Canisius, had a more exalted pupil, Duke Albert himself, to whom Rome granted one-

<sup>1</sup> *Vie du Commendone*, 276, 298, 312, 331.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i. 420-424.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 429.



tenth of the Church revenues, thus making him independent of his turbulent Estates. Jacob von Elz was Archbishop of Treves from 1567 to 1581; he enforced discipline upon his clergy through the Jesuits, and published a new edition of the *Missal*. He experienced much resistance, and once had to lay siege to his own capital. His neighbour at Mayence was not quite so zealous, since he tolerated the heretical ritual in certain places.<sup>1</sup>

The Protestant Princes of Germany seemed to foreign observers to be most lukewarm. Sir Philip Sidney, when studying at Padua, mourns over their overclouded prospects; a book had been written in 1574 or earlier by a partisan of the Pope, who thinks that these Princes may now be crushed, since some of them are given to drinking, others to absurd hunting parties; others are bent on turning the course of rivers at idiotic cost; all but the Palatine neglect their people and ruin themselves. The Princes in Luther's day were very different. Queen Elizabeth had invited them all to unite, and offered herself as their leader; the sluggish men highly admired her virtues, but let the great chance slip. Sidney and Languet, from whose correspondence I here borrow, could foresee the awful chastisement soon to descend upon Germany, which they knew so well.<sup>2</sup>

Gregory XIII., who followed Pius V., kept a watchful eye upon this country. He at once bestowed ten thousand crowns upon her national college in Rome, a foundation established a score of years earlier by the advice of Cardinal Morone and Loyola; the students soon numbered one hundred and fifty, and the Pope wished them to be of noble blood. The Archbishop of Cologne and another Prelate asked to be confirmed in their office by Gregory's hands, a request which was at this time something unusual. A new Jesuit College was founded at Augsburg; a son of Duke Albert of Bavaria was made Bishop of Hildesheim; Albert himself, a visitor who brought sixty followers, was lodged for months

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i. 419-429.

<sup>2</sup> Pears, *Correspondence of Sidney and Languet*, 135, 217. Lord Macaulay is not quite right in averring that the various Protestant States took no thought of anything beyond their own borders.

in the Vatican by Gregory. The Pope was firm in his refusal of the Kaiser's request that ordination might be granted to the Bohemian Hussites, men nearer to Rome than most other Protestants.<sup>1</sup> In 1574 the University of Cologne was reformed, and the Church foundations in Westphalia were shielded from heretical influence. Hopes were entertained of the conversion of Augustus, the Saxon Elector, who was much disgusted at finding that there were many Calvinists in his own household, and that even the University of Wittenberg was tainted with the same heresy. The Kaiser would not listen to the Pope's request when asked to aid in the Saxon's conversion.<sup>2</sup> The good Emperor received many a lecture from the Holy See on the evils of religious toleration. Bohemia, for instance, was in a hopeless state; the Prelates were not allowed to punish the heretics. Gregory in vain asked Maximilian to allow a Papal Legate to set the golden crown on the Imperial brow; the Electors would never have borne this, and Maximilian's health would not permit him to go to Rome, there to receive the crown in the good old style. His son Rudolf was chosen King of the Romans at Ratisbon in 1575; all the Seven Electors were there, except the Elector Palatine, who, being a strong Calvinist, would not meet the Elector of Saxony. The Protestants refused to be present at the Mass sung on the occasion, but returned when it was over. The Archbishop of Mayence took the leading part in the ceremony. Other nominal Bishops of this time are described by the Roman annalist as "ministers of hell."<sup>3</sup> In 1576 Cardinal Morone was sent to rally the German Catholics, who were too often divided from each other by their worldly interests; they were always ready with their purses when called upon by Cæsar. The Legate strove hard to prevent German soldiers from going to the aid of King Philip's rebels in Flanders; but this practice could not be checked. Maximilian II. died in the October of this year, professing himself still a Catholic.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, i. 76-79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 135-137.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 152-167. There is here a full account of the ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 226-231.

In 1577 there was a disputed election to the See of Cologne, where Gebhard von Truchsess was at last installed. The defeated candidate appealed to Rome, alleging that many of the voters were open heretics; but the Pope decided for Gebhard, who had been bred by the Jesuits at Rome. The new Emperor, Rudolph II., was a better man than his father in Roman eyes; he at once drove out the Calvinists who had sought refuge in Austria from the Elector Palatine, who was at this time a Lutheran. Rudolph at once made it plain that the heretics could reckon on small favour from him; he would walk in processions with bare head and lighted candle. The Archbishop of Treves showed his zeal by founding a college of Jesuits; the Reaction had fairly begun.<sup>1</sup> Prelates were now appointed of a very different stamp from the old Bishop of Bamberg, who could not put two Latin words together. But heresy was still alive; already in 1578 the new Archbishop of Cologne was surrounded by Calvinist counsellors, and his subjects were demolishing pictures of the Virgin. Cheering news came from Vienna, where the Emperor was able to inflict a hard blow upon the Protestants.<sup>2</sup> In 1580 Salzburg was oppressed by a Dean, bearing a renowned Austrian name, a man of no conscience, whose one aim, as the Roman annalist says, was to enrich his damned offspring; the man hoped to gain the Emperor's countenance for his schemes, but in the end he was condemned to a prison for life. William, the new Duke of Bavaria, who had succeeded the zealous Albert, founded a new Seminary at Ingolstadt, the headquarters of sound religion in Germany since the days of Doctor Eck; the Nuncio had the pleasure of burning a vast number of heretical books, and the youth of Bavaria were now forbidden to study in heretical cities. Fresh priests were always pouring in from the German College at Rome.<sup>3</sup> One Bavarian Prince, Ernest, scandalised the Papal See in 1581 by gaining the Archbishopric of Liège, though he already held the sees of Hildesheim and Freising; the reformation of the German Church was evidently a most

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, i. 270-282.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 331-338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 135-139.

slow process. The Calvinist wolves must have been inspired by such practices as these. Pope Gregory did his best to check them by entreating (it was in vain) the Empress Mary not to return to her native Spain, but to remain in Germany and influence her son, the wayward Emperor Rudolph, who in many respects did little credit to his Spanish training.<sup>1</sup>

He held his first Diet at Augsburg in 1583; to this Pope Gregory sent an Italian Cardinal as Legate. The Roman cause was losing ground; the Hapsburg Princes were not united among themselves; the new Archbishop of Mayence, Dalberg, was not very hearty; the German Catholics in general seemed to be overawed by the Protestants. The Elector of Brandenburg's eldest son, who had installed himself in the see of Magdeburg, strove to act as the Primate of Germany. But the Legate was able to prevent this, heading a band of Prelates, of whom Julius Echter, the Bishop of Wurzburg, was the most zealous; the Saxon Elector seemed to be very pacific. Rudolph himself, like his father, was too much inclined to neutrality; he was in vain invited by Pope Gregory to come to Italy and be there crowned after the old fashion. The great danger now was the conduct of Gebhard von Truchsess, a wily deceiver, who had at one time been hailed as the Borromeo of Germany, but who was soon promising marriage to Agnes von Mansfeldt, one of a Protestant family, a lady from whose eyes Gospel light had beamed. He was nearly coming to the Diet as the fourth Protestant Elector, and in that character might have changed the whole future of Germany. As it was, he embraced the Augsburg Confession, though his chief allies were the neighbouring Calvinist Princes.<sup>2</sup> This was the second time within forty years that an Archbishop of Cologne had changed sides. Gregory's new Calendar was now being brought to the notice of many lands; but Cæsar would not accept it from fear of offending his Protestant subjects; he even prevented the zealous

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, ii. 187-192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 232-250. We are here told that Calvinism was now making great strides in Dalmatia.

Duke of Bavaria from obeying the orders from Rome. Not long afterwards the new Calendar was accepted by all throughout Germany.<sup>1</sup>

In 1583 Henry of Saxony, who held the three Sees of Bremen, Paderborn, and Osnaburg, was demanding free toleration for the diocese of Cologne. But the Pope's envoy persuaded the magistrates to refuse the impious request, and to entreat Gregory to reform the local clergy, whose discipline was corrupt. The people of Cologne took the Papal side, and Gregory sent two Cardinals to treat the whole affair. Young Ernest of Bavaria was induced to make his way down the Rhine to Cologne as the Papal champion; he was fired at by the Protestant soldiery near St. Goar. Gebhard was in Bonn, whence he called for help on the Sovereigns of France and England, and on King Philip's rebels; he was married to his Agnes by a Calvinist preacher sent by Casimir, the Elector Palatine's brother, who was now the great pillar of the Protestant cause alike in Germany, France, and Flanders. The Chapter of Cologne was distracted by divisions, but became more united after Pope Gregory had excommunicated Gebhard and deprived him of all his dignities. The Pope's Nuncio also deprived some of Gebhard's noble partisans at Cologne, among whom we find a Witgenstein; after this Ernest of Bavaria was soon chosen Archbishop amid general rejoicings; troops poured in from Munich, money from Rome. Gebhard was forsaken by the Protestant Princes; they would not stand in the way of their powerful brother of Bavaria, to whom Gregory granted a tenth of all Church revenues in Germany; this grant was recalled by Gregory's successor, and in consequence the war on Gebhard's account lasted eight years. This chastisement of a German Elector, who had been acknowledged by the Catholics as well as by the heretics, was one of the greatest achievements of Gregory's Pontificate.<sup>2</sup>

In 1584 Rome, Spain, and Bavaria were able to persuade Charles, the mild Archduke, to abolish toleration in Styria, at least for the time. The same year beheld the

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, ii. 274, 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 310-328.



establishment at Fulda of a Jesuit College for forty noble youths; another was built by Pope Gregory at Dillingen, and a third in Transylvania.<sup>1</sup> Spain, which of all realms he loved best, was making her influence felt; Gebhard had been driven from his see by a Spanish army from the West; we have here a rehearsal of the baleful influence that was to play havoc in Germany forty years later. Casimir of the Palatinate had proved a weak reed when it was important to uphold Gebhard; the deprived Elector sought refuge with another famous Calvinist, William of Orange, who had now but a few months to live. Other Northern bishoprics were powerfully influenced by the example of Cologne, thus snatched from Satan's grip. As to the South, young Julius Echter was chosen Bishop of Wurtzburg in 1573. He was at first inclined, though he had been bred by the Jesuits, to throw in his lot with Gebhard. But in 1584 he turned the other way, and made a visitation of his diocese, such as had never been known in Germany. He replaced the Protestant preachers by Jesuits; in one year sixty-two thousand souls were brought over to the true faith. His subjects had to choose between the Mass or banishment, and the latter was preferred by four hundred members of the town council of Wurtzburg; Julius is said to have founded three hundred new Churches; he received the choicest favours of Pope Sixtus V. The neighbouring Bishop of Bamberg was also inspired by this example, one of the first-fruits of the great Reaction. The Austrian Princes were now earning the highest praise of Rome. The young Archbishop of Salzburg crushed Protestantism in the greater part of his diocese. Augsburg and Ratisbon followed in the same path. Minucci, Papal envoy in Germany, watched all the complex movements, and gave the wisest of councils.<sup>2</sup>

Possevin the Jesuit, writing to King Stephen of Poland about 1580, exults over Germany's possible return to the true faith. Rudolf, the Kaiser, it is said, has driven the preacher Opitz from Vienna. The Jesuits have seven

<sup>1</sup> Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, ii. 371, 380.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i. 481-500.

hundred pupils at Olmutz; they have another college at Prague. No heretics are allowed in the Tyrol. The illustrious Duke Albert has some years ago purged Bavaria of the misbelievers. He had at first asked that the Cup in the Eucharist might be given to his people; but later he broke in public the vessels he had destined for that rite. His colleges of Ingolstadt and Munich have been of great service. He has been at great cost in having the lives of the Saints translated into German, and in sending a copy to each Bavarian parish. The Jesuit names twelve other cities in Germany where his Order is at work. The Elector of Saxony is mourning over the Protestant squabbles in his dominions, and has put to death some Calvinist ministers.<sup>1</sup>

In 1586 Wittenberg welcomed Giordano Bruno, who called it the Athens of Germany. Here, as he afterwards told his judges of the Inquisition, he found two factions, one of philosophers who were Calvinists, the other of theologians who were Lutherans. His lectures were attended not only by scholars but by professors, though in his speculations he left Luther and Melanchthon far behind him. He found the tolerance of Wittenberg infinitely greater than that of Toulouse, Paris, or Oxford, in all of which he had lectured.<sup>2</sup> Bruno belonged to the Lutheran faction, for he had known Geneva; the Lutheran Elector Augustus now died, and was succeeded by his drunken son Christian, a Calvinist. The Italian was therefore unwillingly forced to leave Wittenberg; he took leave of the University in a prophetic letter: "In Germany, Wisdom has built her house; let the Germans only give themselves to the highest studies, and they will be Gods, not men. A new order of things has begun owing to Germany; this race has been endowed with a most divine genius, able to take the lead in any studies it may choose; Luther was a new Hercules who smote the bars of hell. Germany is called on to make ready the kingdom for Wisdom." We

<sup>1</sup> *Possevini Moscovia et alia opera* (published in 1587), 314.

<sup>2</sup> His words to his German students are "philosophicam libertatem illibatam conservatis."

might think that a prophetic glimpse of the Nineteenth century had been granted to Bruno. He ends by naming all the professors, giving them high praise.<sup>1</sup>

But in spite of the teaching of Wittenberg, Calvin's doctrine was making great way in Germany. The people had to shape their theology by that of the local Prince; thus the subjects of the Electors Palatine had to sway backwards and forwards, changing their religious views three times within sixty years, accordingly as the head of the State was Lutheran or Calvinist. This diversity of religion was to bear bitter fruit in the first half of the Seventeenth century. In Germany, unhappily, Calvinism was enforced by the Princes on the people; it came from above, not from below, as in Holland, France, and Scotland. Some years later Carafa, the Pope's Nuncio at Vienna, who must have narrowly watched everything bearing on religion in Germany, thus describes the change of a province from Lutheranism to Calvinism: "The altars were levelled, and their place was taken by a wooden table covered with a black cloth; bread cut into small pieces replaced the Host; the cope and candles were disused; there was no more reverence at the Lord's Supper; in it the sign of the Cross was dropped; auricular confession was done away; the head was not bowed or bared at the name of Jesus; the Sacrament was not carried to the sick; stone fonts were cast out; the Decalogue and Catechism were corrected; the Trinity was no longer painted; and there were many things like these smacking of Atheism."<sup>2</sup>

A darker subject than the last now claims our heed. Ever since a fatal Papal Bull in 1484, Germany had been busy in burning witches, and this went on for nearly three hundred years. Luther himself had a most lively belief in the Devil's power over our race, though the Reformer was so far enlightened as to hold astrology in scorn. But the German bishoprics were a special prey to the fearful superstition; in twenty villages near Treves three hundred and sixty-eight persons were executed in seven years, besides

<sup>1</sup> *Vita di Giordano Bruno*, da Berti, 207-218.

<sup>2</sup> Carafa, *Germania Sacra restaurata*, 51.

many who were burnt in the city itself. Nor were the Protestants far behind; in Brunswick the burnt stakes stood like a little forest. Most of the victims were women; torture was applied on the most frivolous pretext. Many thousands must have died. A physician named Weier uttered his remonstrance in 1593, and was loudly denounced; and rather later the Jesuit Spee wrote a book against burning heretics; this he published anonymously in a Protestant press.<sup>1</sup>

Germany seemed altogether to stand still while the world was blazing around her. The Protestant Archbishop of Cologne could get no help; he wrote: "We shall become the laughing-stock of the nations; make sheep of yourselves and the wolf will eat you. We shall find our destruction in our immoderate desire for peace. Our evangelists are asleep on both ears." Walsingham complained that Saxony and Brandenburg behaved as though the conservation of the liberty of Germany did in no respect touch them; he talked of the dulness of the Almain nature. Yet their Princes, as one of the ablest of the Nassau house remarked, varied their labours with banquetting and guzzling, drinking and devouring, with unchristian flaunting and wastefulness of apparel, with extravagant and wanton dancing, and other lewd abominations.<sup>2</sup> A little later a Spanish envoy remarked on the Diet of Ratisbon: "In less than three months they have drunk more than five million florins of wine"; yet of the steadiest toppers, not one would give any help against the Turkish invader.<sup>3</sup> In the Netherlands more Germans seem to have fought for Philip than for Orange; Germany was rotten to the core.

Yet there was a gleam of hope now and then. Thus, in 1590 all good Protestants must have been in spirits, for in a secret assembly held at Cassel, large subsidies were granted to the champion who was fighting his way to the French crown; even the Lutheran States for once bore their share in the good work. Things had improved since 1583, when these same Lutheran States had been able to check

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, i. 284, 307-309.

<sup>2</sup> Motley, *United Netherlands*, i. 33-35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 316.

their Calvinist brethren and to bring to naught a proposed Protestant League, then sorely needed by the bold Henry. In 1591 Christian of Anhalt, for many years a chief of renown, led a body of Germans to the help of the Huguenots.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1598 was a black year for Germany; it was then that the young Archduke Ferdinand gave Styria and the neighbouring provinces a taste of his quality; this persecuting pupil of the Jesuits and future Emperor revealed himself as the main prop of Rome in Germany. His cousin Rudolf II., the half-crazed Kaiser, who took more interest in the stars of heaven than in the things of earth, had hitherto been fairly tolerant; but now he was stimulated by Ferdinand's example to worry the heretics in all his vast dominions, scourging them even in remote Transylvania, the chosen home of free thought. The upshot was civil war and the loss of dominion over Hungary and Austria; Rudolf was, during the last years of his life, limited to Bohemia and the German Sovereignty, while his brother Matthias, an enemy to his cousins the Spanish Hapsburgs, ruled in Vienna.

The Reaction went on at full speed. The Electors of Mayence and Cologne were more zealous than ever, while their brother of Treves, one of the house of Metternich, would allow no Protestants at his Court. The Bishop of Bamberg made all heretics choose between conversion and banishment. The Bishop of Paderborn imprisoned those of the clergy who gave the Cup to the laity. The Imperial Chamber had begun to give sentences little in accord with the wishes of the Protestants. In 1607 there was an explosion at Donauwerth, a Protestant town. A neighbouring Abbot paraded the streets with banners unfurled, against all law. Hence came uproars, citations, and commissions; until Maximilian of Bavaria, acting for the Emperor, took possession of the town, and forbade all Protestant worship. The Jesuits were now denying that the Peace of Augsburg was valid, since the Pope had never ratified it. The two parties struggled together at the Diet

<sup>1</sup> Rommel, *Correspondance de Henry IV. avec Maurice le Savant*, xvi.



of Ratisbon in 1608. The Archduke Ferdinand, pupil of the Jesuits though he was, had resolved to grant the Protestant demands, when he was persuaded by an Italian agent to refer the whole business to the Pope. The Protestants quitted the Diet; Germany was rapidly becoming a new Poland.

In 1608 several Protestant States (Saxony would not join) formed a League, known as the Union, which made ready for war and called attention to every new aggression. The other side in 1609 made a rival League, which combined many Prelates under the Duke of Bavaria; they were supported by Rome and Madrid. The two parties were growling sullenly, ready at any moment to fly at each other's throats. The Jesuits had indeed done their work well within the last fifty years.<sup>1</sup>

There was one chance of averting war, if heed were only paid to the wise counsels that came from Paris. Henry IV. was eager for the friendship both of the Papacy and of the German Protestants, while intent on the ruin of the Hapsburgs, both at Vienna and Madrid. He longed to unite all Germany against the Turk and the Spaniard, at this time the two overmastering powers of Europe. He found a good ally in the Landgrave, Maurice the Learned, the grandson of that other Landgrave, Luther's too exacting friend. No such ruler seems to have appeared in Europe since the days of the Emperor Frederick II.; for Maurice was both orator, philologist, philosopher, chemist, mathematician, theologian, poet, dramatist, musical composer, and director of academies; he loved Geneva and French literature. He could dance and ride, but above all, he was a far-seeing statesman, highly prized by Queen Elizabeth and the Hollanders.<sup>2</sup> Peace had been made between France and Spain; this was instantly followed by a Spanish invasion of Westphalia, when the usual crimes were committed on the subjects of the Empire. In the spring of 1599 Maurice

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *History of the Popes*, ii. 162-176.

<sup>2</sup> Rommel, *Correspondance de Henri IV. avec Maurice le Savant*, xvii. 61, 64. A French nobleman said to him: "You Germans do well to come into France to learn politeness, but what can we learn from the Germans?" "Modesty," answered Maurice.

had written bitter complaints on this head to the French King.<sup>1</sup>

Henry was never weary of uttering earnest exhortations to union. This was not thought of, even among Protestants; the old curse of Lutheranism and Calvinism barred any friendship between Wurtemberg and the Palatinate. But Henry and Maurice, the two wisest men in Europe, had met at Paris in 1602; great plans for the future were mapped out. The French King was able to settle a quarrel as to the bishopric of Strasburg; he kept a watchful eye on the succession, which was sure to be disputed, of the Duke of Cleves and Juliers. Shrewd statesmen saw the hand of the great Spanish enemy in the compact made in 1606 between most of the Hapsburg Princes. To cut short their further enjoyment of the Imperial dignity, Henry, declining the glittering bait for himself, had in view the elevation of Maximilian of Bavaria to the German throne. No French help was to be expected by any Protestant candidate, such as the Danish King. Henry's policy in favour of Maximilian was afterwards followed by Richelieu and Mazarin; the long-lived Bavarian was contemporary with all three of these great pilots of France.<sup>2</sup> In 1610 France, most strong in men and money, was to take the field. But Ravallac's knife blighted all these fair hopes, and Germany drifted on blindly towards the Thirty Years' War.

A sovereign very different from Henry died in 1612; this was Rudolf II., the titular Monarch of Germany. He was succeeded by his brother Matthias, who had already done much for Protestantism in Hungary, and even in Germany was to draw down upon himself the rebukes of the Pope. His coronation at Frankfort was a most gorgeous affair. But war was smouldering in the Juliers district, and about this time a new disaster befell the Protestants. The Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, left the

<sup>1</sup> Rommel, *Correspondance de Henri IV. avec Maurice le Savant*, 43, 48. See Motley's description of these crimes, *United Netherlands*, iii. 583.

<sup>2</sup> Lacombe, *Henri IV. et sa politique*, 335-355.

Lutherans and joined the Calvinists.<sup>1</sup> This step was taken to secure the alliance of the Dutch, who were neighbours to Juliers. It aroused the disgust of the Elector's subjects, both in Brandenburg and in East Prussia, the great province which the Hohenzollerns had just inherited from a kinsman. But the Elector did not enforce conversion to Calvinism upon his subjects, an evil course taken by the usually wise Maurice of Hesse. The three great religious parties of Germany were now sharply divided; their chiefs were the future Emperor Ferdinand II., the pupil of the Jesuits, who had long been at work converting Styria and the neighbouring provinces; then the Elector of Saxony, John George, a drunken sportsman surnamed the Beerjug, an unworthy disciple of Luther, a Prince who, led astray by a bigoted chaplain, much preferred a Jesuit to a Calvinist; lastly, Christian of Anhalt, Geneva's spiritual son, unwearied in shaping new schemes for the maintenance of Protestantism in Germany, a statesman who was to find that England was an untrusty reed if compared with the Spanish giant.<sup>2</sup> The religious wars of Charles V. had been mere child's play to the new and fearful struggle that was to last Thirty Years.

In 1617 the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation was celebrated all over Germany. The Saxon Elector, who was soon to be ranked among the worst enemies of the Reformed, called on all Protestants to rejoice, since the light of the Gospel had been kept burning, in spite of the raging of the hellish enemy and all his scaly servants. The Doctors of divinity rejoiced that the old idolatries and blasphemies had been rooted out in many lands. The Roman Antichrist might bite off his own tongue as much as he liked. What could this inane worn-out man and water-bubble do? Meanwhile the Calvinists were excluding Papists from all hope of salvation. Pope Paul V. at the same time issued a Bull for a Catholic jubilee in decorous

<sup>1</sup> It is not often that we catch Lord Macaulay tripping, but from a passage in the early part of his essay on Frederick the Great it is plain that he imagined that the Hohenzollerns of the Eighteenth century were Lutherans.

<sup>2</sup> For the great struggle I have depended much upon Gardiner's *Thirty Years' War*; the map of Germany prefixed is most valuable.

language, calling on all believers to flee from the wrath about to come upon the earth ; this seems almost prophetic. Scioppius the Jesuit loudly declared that the only road to union was a path of blood.<sup>1</sup> The first two years of the great war belong to Bohemia ; the Defenestration, the death of Matthias, the wretched incapacity of the Czech nobles, their bestowal of their crown upon Frederick the weak Elector Palatine, the election of Ferdinand as Roman Emperor, the attack made by nearly all Catholic Europe, the desertion of Lutheran Saxony, the dismal battle of Prague, have been described in a former Chapter. These events, heedfully watched by all Christendom, occupied about two years and a half. The year 1620 beheld the downfall of Frederick, and what was far worse, the utter ruin of the Bohemian kingdom. Early in 1621 the luckless Prince was put to the ban by Ferdinand II., the newly elected Emperor, who could reckon Protestants among his voters. His enemies in Germany were threatened by the great Spinola from one side, by Tilly on another. Spain and Bavaria were both in full activity. But the Protestants had no better leader than the ruffian Mansfeld, whose troops plundered friend and foe alike. He held out for some time in the Upper Palatinate, the part of Frederick's realm that lay immediately to the West of Bohemia. He thence marched into Alsace, where the Emperor held great possessions.

Another champion came forward in 1622, Christian of Brunswick, the titular Bishop of Halberstadt, a mere fighting trooper.<sup>2</sup> The Lutheran Prince had been ensnared by the bright eyes of a Calvinist lady, Frederick's English Queen ; and thus Brunswick and England seemed already to be brought into line. He took for his device the words, " Friend of God and foe of Priests." In the spring of 1622 Tilly and the Spanish Cordova defeated the Margrave of Baden, drove back Mansfeld, and inflicted fearful losses on the Brunswicker. Heidelberg, Frederick's capital in the Lower

<sup>1</sup> Motley, *Life of Barneveld*, ii. 101, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Three Christians were the main support of German Protestantism within a few years ; he of Anhalt, he of Brunswick, and he of Denmark.

Palatinate, was given up; and Frederick himself, a rebel against the Holy Empire, was soon nothing more than a needy exile.

Early in 1623 he was solemnly deprived of his Electoral vote, which was handed over to the wary Maximilian of Bavaria, a most sturdy prop of Rome. Mansfeld did some useful work for the Dutch, who were now once more assailed by their old Spanish enemy, while Christian of Brunswick was crushed by Tilly. The Elector of Saxony wavered between the rival parties, but did nothing. The most interesting question now was, as to whether the Northern bishoprics should continue to belong to the Protestants, or should be handed back to the Church; as yet nothing was settled.

The year 1624 was rather peaceful than otherwise. James I. of England attempted mediation, but owing to his absurd leaning to despotic Courts, he tied the hands of his ablest envoys, as we see plainly enough in the despatches of Sir Thomas Roe from Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Richelieu could have done more, but he was as yet by no means firm in the saddle; the Huguenots were a thorn in his side, and therefore hamperers of the general cause of Protestantism. But King Christian of Denmark was now ready to step forward as the champion of that cause, and he found supporters in Northern Germany.

He was confronted in 1625 by Tilly, and by a still abler enemy, the redoubtable Wallenstein, who had offered to keep an army afoot which should cost the needy Emperor nothing. Ferdinand, by not confirming the bishoprics to the Protestants, a policy which might have led to a stable peace, had brought a new and fearful scourge upon Germany. Wallenstein's troops made their first essay upon the lands around Magdeburg and Halberstadt, eating up the country, as the Protestant chiefs had done before.

In 1626 the new leader, who had spent some months in training his raw levies, gained a victory over Mansfeld

<sup>1</sup> Roe's despatches make a huge volume. He longed to make Bethlen Gabor take a decided part in the fray, but nothing could be done with such a master as James.



and drove him into Hungary, where the fugitive got but little help from Bethlen Gabor, and died not long afterwards. Meanwhile Tilly had overthrown King Christian on the field of Lutter. The Emperor might now once more have settled the affairs of Germany on the groundwork of religious toleration, but this pupil of the Jesuits chose rather to keep his robber bands quartered upon the country.

In 1627 all hope of aid from Hungary was at an end, as the Turk was entangled in a war with Persia. Wallenstein conquered Silesia, and afterwards Jutland, together with other lands that held of the Danish crown. Some of the best of King Christian's regiments took service with the great Adventurer, who had put down all resistance to his master, the Emperor. The cities of Germany were paying dearly for the lukewarm aid they had given to the Protestant cause at the outset of the war. The new standing army was bearing rule everywhere, and seemed likely to sweep away all privileges, even those of the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire. One of these, George William, had reigned in Brandenburg since 1619. Under this very poor creature the three different creeds might be seen at work. He himself, like his father, was a Calvinist, enjoying much Church patronage, but he had nothing of the fiery spirit of Calvinism, which had transformed so large a part of Europe. His subjects were Lutherans, with little wish to stand up for Protestantism, a religion now threatened with extinction; the Elector of Saxony was the statesman who best expressed their views. The chief minister at Berlin was a Roman Catholic, a most capable man, held to be a secret tool of the Emperor's. It is not surprising that the great aim of Brandenburg was to remain neutral in the mighty struggle now going on.<sup>1</sup>

In 1628 Ferdinand took vengeance on the Dukes of Mecklenburg, who had backed the late Danish invader. The Kaiser declared them to have forfeited their lands and dignities, and placed the Duchies in Wallenstein's hands; this seemed to the Germans a worse case of oppression

<sup>1</sup> See Tuttle's *History of Prussia* for these gloomy times.

than what had befallen the Elector Palatine. The Adventurer was now made Admiral of the Baltic, but the Hanse towns refused to find him a fleet. The Duke of Pomerania and some towns on the coast had to yield, but Stralsund stood out manfully, binding by oath all her citizens to defend their religion and their freedom to the last drop of their blood. Both Sweden and Denmark sent help to the noble city, the first enemy that had ever given a check to Wallenstein. These Germans openly preferred the alliance of foreign kings to any submission to the Emperor, his Jesuits, and his cut-throats. Early in August Wallenstein had to raise the siege of Stralsund, a town which has thus earned the thanks, not only of Germany, but of all mankind.<sup>1</sup> Had the great Adventurer established himself upon the Baltic shores, he would have revived the old Hanseatic League, making it a tool in the Emperor's hands; this would soon have ruined the trade of Holland and England, and Spain would have had a noble triumph. Beyond the walls of Stralsund another small town on the sea was able to keep at bay both Wallenstein and Tilly. But in Southern Germany Ferdinand had his own way. Churches were handed over to the Catholics in places where there was not a single Catholic, and Germans were driven to Mass somewhat in the Bohemian fashion. The Bavarian Elector had received the Upper Palatinate, and he made practical use of the German maxim, that the Prince might enforce his creed upon his subjects.

In 1629 Christian of Denmark, getting no support from England, made peace with the Empire, receiving back his lost lands, and resigning all claim to German bishoprics. Wallenstein was now formally invested with the Duchy of Mecklenburg; but an enmity was being fostered between him and the wise Elector of Bavaria; the one leant to the greedy soldier, the other to the more cautious priest; Ferdinand, high above them both, thought it possible to

<sup>1</sup> Wallenstein's titles were these when he was almost at the height of his power in 1628. *Wir Albrecht von Gottes gnaden herzog zu Friedland und Sagan, Rom. Kay. Mag. General Obrister Veldthauptman, wie auch dess Oceanischen und Balthischen Meeres General.* This is from a Protection given by him, to be found in Rose, *Herzog Bernhard der Grosse*, i. 398.

combine the interests of the two professions. He had long had Southern Germany at his mercy; it was time, he thought, to handle the North in the same way. Early in 1629 he issued the dismal Edict of Restitution, whereby the two archbishoprics of Magdeburg and Bremen, together with twelve bishoprics and more than a hundred smaller foundations, long held by the Protestants, were handed back to Rome. The great gainers were the Jesuits, not the old-established Orders. The work in Germany seemed now to be thoroughly done, so Ferdinand's troops poured into Italy on behalf of the Spanish cause.

Perhaps he reached his highest pinnacle in the summer of 1630, when these troops sacked Mantua, and threatened to lord it over Rome herself, which had been anything but an unwavering ally. He had, by the strong hand, converted millions to the true Church, and had taken a fearful vengeance on the heretics, whether Lutheran or Calvinist. But his right hand was now to be paralysed. The German Princes could no longer bear Wallenstein's arrogance. His soldiers had so ravaged the North, that the peasants had been feeding on grass, and even on human flesh. He was at length dismissed by his unwilling master, while Tilly was continued in command. A short time before this Gustavus Adolphus, the great King of Sweden, who had already smitten Danes, Russians, and Poles, landed his army in Germany, having at last, after much hesitation, embarked on the holiest of all Crusades. He first won over the Duke of Pomerania, though other Protestant Princes higher in rank as yet stood aloof. Even the Edict of Restitution had failed to pierce their thick hides.

The year 1631 opened with a treaty between France and Sweden; by this the Catholic religion in Germany was duly protected, and French gold was to be employed as well as Swedish iron in fighting the Emperor. The Protestant Princes, averse to the intrusion of foreigners, made one more fruitless appeal to Ferdinand to withdraw the much-loathed Edict of Restitution. But he was bent on making it even more severe, for the Jesuits, one of whom was his Confessor, had a mind to enrich their own Order

by the Edict at the cost of the older Brotherhoods. They intrigued at Rome against the Benedictines, who claimed that it was their Order that had converted almost all Germany to the faith. The Jesuits answered that they alone, at the present moment, could convert the German Protestants, and that the Emperor ought to be acknowledged as a New Founder. Even good Catholics protested against the doings of the Jesuits as robbery and rapine perpetrated upon St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Francis, and St. Clare. Why was one altar to be uncovered to cover another? These wrangles went on for ten years, but were stopped by the Spiritual Electors of Germany addressing the Pope. The Jesuits, rather later, got possession of four of the old Abbeys; they dragged certain nuns out of a convent by main force.<sup>1</sup>

Tilly at first gained a success over the Swedes; but Gustavus was able to master Frankfort-on-the-Oder, an important post. Magdeburg had risen on his behalf, and he was bound to relieve it. But the two half-hearted Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony would not throw in their lot with the Swedes until it was too late. "You Protestants," said the King, "will have to answer for it at Doomsday; in this world too you will be punished." Magdeburg, the Old Maid of German ballads, was sacked by Tilly's soldiers; the citizens in despair set fire to the town, and almost every building inside it except the Cathedral was burnt to the ground. The exception was a type of the whole war as waged by Ferdinand, who avowed that he would uphold the Edict of Restitution to the uttermost. The Swedes were now joined by William of Hesse-Cassel, a staunch Calvinist, and by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the one German who won green laurels in the long war, a representative of the old Saxon line ousted by Charles V. Well would it have been for Germany had this Prince been installed in the Electorate held by his drunken and jealous

<sup>1</sup> See the *Moral Practice of the Jesuits*, printed in 1670. In p. 214 there is a rendering of two works of Father Hay, a famous German Benedictine; one, *Astrum Inextinctum*, printed in 1636; the other, *Hortus Crusianus*, printed in 1658. These are the base of my remarks on the Jesuits.

kinsman. Even this kinsman, John George, was driven by the Emperor's rashness into the arms of Gustavus, and he of Brandenburg had been coerced earlier. In the autumn the Swedes (Gustavus had brought in new tactics) won the great day of Breitenfeld while their Saxon allies were flying from Tilly's soldiers. Ferdinand had been master of Germany for eleven dreary years; his complete sway over it was now at an end for ever. Wallenstein rejoiced over Tilly's failure. The conquering King sent his Saxon ally to arouse Bohemia; he himself marched through what was called "the priest's lane"—that is, the wealthy German bishoprics, stretching from Wurzburg to Treves. He kept his Christmas at Mayence; on one occasion his Swedes fought against Spaniards, the two extreme nations of Europe representing different creeds. He seems at this time to have aimed at the Overlordship of Germany, much to the consternation of the two Protestant Electors. Amid the crash of arms we mark a proposal of the Brandenburger that religious liberty be established throughout the land, and that at least free worship in private should be tolerated.<sup>1</sup> Could he have learnt this from Transylvania, with which he was closely connected?

Early in 1632 Gustavus stormed Creuznach, and dictated toleration of Protestants to the city of Cologne, though the Archbishop was brother to the Duke of Bavaria.<sup>2</sup> The King marched across the land to Nuremberg, always a stronghold of Lutheranism, where he charmed all hearts. Soon he met Tilly once more on the Lech, and that stout old veteran was borne away to die of a wound. Protestantism was restored at Augsburg; the King marched on to Munich, and there held friendly debate with the Jesuit fathers. All

<sup>1</sup> Gindely, *Thirty Years' War*, ii. 105.

<sup>2</sup> There is a long account in the *Swedish Intelligencer* (77-89) of the Creuznach feat, a relation that we owe partly to Sir Jacob Astley, so famous in our own civil wars. Here it was that Gustavus clapped young Lord Craven on the shoulder. When the Swedes marched in not a man offered to stir out of the ranks to plunder. The gradual change in the burghers, from fear to bountiful hospitality, is vividly described. The Archbishop of Mayence mourned that the Emperor had ordered all cloisters to be restored, "for which we are now losing whole bishoprics."



Germany lay at his feet; a great Protestant Empire seemed looming in the future. One thing alone saved Ferdinand—the reinstatement of Wallenstein on that warrior's own terms; no more was to be heard of the Edict of Restitution. The restored General, levying his old veterans, at once drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, and then faced the Swedes near Nuremberg. The King was sore worried by the incompetence of the German Princes and cities, who seemed utterly unable to form anything like a solid union; he was further enraged by the want of discipline shown by the Protestant soldiery. He dashed himself in vain upon Wallenstein's strong entrenchments. The scene of war was then suddenly transferred to Saxony, where Wallenstein, lying at Lutzen, committed the blunder of detaching a large force on an errand to the West. Gustavus sprang at the chance, and at once forced on a battle, to end in a Protestant victory. But it was Bernard of Saxe-Weimar that brought the troops out of action, for the great Gustavus was lying dead on the Saxon heath. Thus passed away the greatest soldier-statesman that Europe had seen for twenty-two years, the one man that could have built up a German Protestant League, a happier Confederation than that afterwards established by Napoleon. The too early death of Gustavus was as great a calamity for the Catholics as for the Protestants, as we see if we bear in mind the ferocious style of warfare that now set in. He had been little more than two years at work in Germany, yet had already taught the Emperor many a rude lesson; the Jesuits were no more to be supreme in the Empire.

Though Gustavus was gone, the Swedes wielded great power in the land. Their King had long before promised to his faithful ally, Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the Duchy of Franconia and the Bishoprics of Wurzburg and Bamberg, a fair heritage to be carved out for a younger son. The King's old Chancellor, Oxenstiern, now in 1633 confirmed this grant to Bernard; that hero came to Wurzburg in the summer and took possession of his duchy, not to last for long. Protestant service was celebrated in the Cathedral, oaths were plighted, and presents given. He was repre-

sented in his new domains by a brother, who improved churches and schools, something strange in the Thirty Years' War.<sup>1</sup> In this same year Sweden and four Circles of the Empire formed a union, which was now directed by her wise Chancellor Oxenstiern; Electoral Saxony of course stood aloof. The Elector of Treves had already called in the French, who were established in his fortress of Ehrenbreitstein. Wallenstein was now planning a revolution in German politics without taking much heed of the Emperor, and was meditating an alliance with Sweden, even though he might assail her troops in Silesia. The bold Bernard had seized Ratisbon, and Wallenstein, whom few now trusted, did nothing to recover it. He was at this moment alienating Spain, which had formerly been his staunch ally.

In 1634 the Spanish Embassy was sure that mischief was brewing in the wily adventurer's camp; he was said to be aiming at the Bohemian Crown for himself. The Emperor Ferdinand was at last brought to see that his great Lieutenant was not trustworthy. The Court gained some of Wallenstein's Generals; Spanish gold was scattered broadcast; and most of the army, both officers and privates, declared for the Emperor against the traitor. Early in the year Wallenstein and his chief lieutenants were butchered at Egra, and all chance of a peace with the Protestants, such as he would fain have made, was at an end. The Emperor triumphed on other fields; he recovered Ratisbon, and his troops gained a wonderful victory at Nordlingen with the aid of Spanish and Italian veterans; here the rashness of young Bernard had forced on a battle, in spite of the remonstrances of the cautious old Swede, Horn. This bloody day atoned for the defeat at Breitenfeld, three years earlier. In a few months almost all Southern Germany had to bow before the Emperor; the cause of the Jesuits seemed at last on the high road to success.

But now, in the new year 1635, Richelieu struck in; it was not the interest of France to allow her old allies, the German and Swedish Protestants, to be altogether crushed. French garrisons replaced those of Sweden in Alsace;

<sup>1</sup> Rose, *Herzog Bernhard der Grosse*, i. 226-228, 423.

French money was freely spent; and Ferdinand, seeing the new danger, no longer insisted on keeping the Protestant bishoprics, though he still refused all toleration to Calvinists; everything was to go back to the year 1627. On these conditions John George of Saxony, who had fought on the Protestant side for only four years, made his peace with the Emperor; he was set down as a renegade by his brethren, and his Electorate was henceforth most ruthlessly harried by the Swedes. His example was soon followed by the Elector of Brandenburg and some other Protestant Princes. Ferdinand found himself obliged to make great concessions to the Protestants; but these he would not make until twenty of his theologians had debated whether they were lawful. He laid all the burden and possible sin upon these councillors. They voted for the new treaty, alleging that no complete conquest of heresy in Germany could be effected. Princes who had shown much zeal on the Swedish side were excluded from the treaty, which even the Princes of Anhalt and several noble cities embraced. The Saxon Elector's chaplain was supposed to have been bribed; Pope Urban VIII. was thrust altogether on one side in this momentous question, and was heartily reviled by the Spainards as a friend of heretics.<sup>1</sup> All noble aims now died out; Croats and Italians on the one side, French and Swedes on the other, tore the paralysed Empire to pieces, and this bootless struggle was to last for thirteen years longer. After the death of Gustavus both parties had thrown aside all pretence to humanity. Augsburg yielded in this year to the Emperor after losing six-sevenths of her burghers in a siege of seven months.

In 1636 France did not show to advantage. She could not rouse the Flemings against their Spanish master, and Paris itself was threatened by Spanish troops pouring over the border. To balance this, Banner, the great Swedish general, won a brilliant victory over the Saxons at Wittstock. He and his countrymen ravaged Northern Germany, as if it had been a Jesuit-ridden land.

<sup>1</sup> See Gindely, ii. 213, 220, 224, 234.

Early in 1637 died the author of all this misery, the Emperor Ferdinand II., a man who has probably caused more destruction of mankind than any other Christian monarch, Napoleon himself not excepted. Starvation, not the sword, was the agency mainly employed by the earlier despot. For all but forty years had Ferdinand been at work, squaring the consciences of his subjects with his beloved Jesuitical model. He was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III., who had an equal love for the great Order. The new ruler's first year was successful; the Swedes were driven back to the Baltic, and Protestant Wurtemberg now inclined to peace.

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar had lost all chance of his promised Duchy in Franconia; in 1638 he was seeking amends for this in Alsace. He took Freiburg and other strongholds, and then proceeded to the siege of Breisach, which he captured after some masterly movements before the end of the year. He refused to place his great conquest in the hands of the French.

In 1639 this warrior died when about to achieve brilliant results, while Banner was pushing his way into Bohemia. The French, relieved of the presence of the greatest German soldier of the day, at once seized upon most of Alsace and took into their pay Bernard's old veterans. For France a period of triumph was now beginning, to last for sixty-five years. Her Dutch allies were in the meantime winning great victories over their old oppressor.

In 1640 two wounds were inflicted upon the Arch-enemy, Spain, blows from which she never recovered. The war in Germany, which she had so industriously fed, seemed now to be growing barren of results; Banner was unable to repeat his great achievement.

In 1641 the French Marshal Guébriant gained a victory over the Austrians. The tide had already turned, though Banner, the Swedish conqueror, died after ruthlessly harrying Bohemia.

In 1642 Guébriant defeated the Austrians once more, and Torstenson, the new Swedish general, overran Silesia. They gained a new ally in Ragotski, the Prince of Transyl-

vania. This year brought a great loss, that of Cardinal Richelieu, who had of late been smiting his enemies, both at home and abroad, with heavy hand. His place was taken by Cardinal Mazarin, who had the happiness to discover in France military talent far greater than any known to Richelieu. France and Sweden were now alike rich in great commanders; the other side, less happy, had Mercy, and also some of Wallenstein's lieutenants, such as the drunkard Gallas. The end of the great war was almost in sight.

In 1643 young Condé shattered the fighting power of Spain at Rocroy; one of the shrewdest blows ever dealt to Ultramontaniam. Torstenson marched up almost to the gates of Vienna, and then fell like lightning upon Denmark; Gustavus had left behind him more than one apt pupil.

In 1644 the French at first made little way. But Turenne and Condé were employed on the same field of battle at Freiburg, whence, after three days of needless butchery, Mercy was at last driven to retreat. Meanwhile Torstenson was winning successes elsewhere.

In 1645 the two brilliant Frenchmen gave battle once more at Nordlingen, where, luckily for them, Mercy was killed early in the day, leaving the victory to the foreigners. On the other side of Germany Torstenson once more broke into the Austrian provinces and won the field of Janikow; but he found Vienna unassailable, and failed to take Brünn in Moravia. His Hungarian ally, Ragotski, was forced by the Sultan to keep quiet. Proposals for peace were now made in earnest; two years before this time the Emperor had sent his envoy to treat, though he was most unwilling to submit to a congress of European powers, instead of arranging the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire at home. The Elector of Saxony, who had long remained firm in his belief that Jesuits were better rulers of Germany than Calvinists, was at last driven to make a separate truce with the Swedes.

In 1646 Turenne effected a junction with Wrangel, the new Swedish general, and the pair marched into the heart of Bavaria; here no enemy had been seen for thirteen



years, and the land of course was rich and peaceful. The foreigners at once turned it into a wilderness, and forced the Elector Maximilian to make another separate and short-lived truce. The Austrian duchies now lay open to invasion. The good generals on the Emperor's side had all died off, while his enemies were led by the best commanders of the age.

In 1647 Turenne was prevented by his own government from striking at the heart of Austria. Both he and the Swedes were driven back later in the year.

Early in 1648 the last great battle of the war was fought at Zusmarshausen, where the Bavarians were again defeated, and their country once more underwent fearful sufferings. In Bohemia the Swedes mastered half of Prague. The Emperor Ferdinand III., who had been all but captured by the Swedes in the previous year, could hold out no longer, and late in 1648 the peace of Westphalia was signed. This was a compact fixed and definite, most unlike the uncertainties of the old Peace of Augsburg. By the new Treaty, to the accomplishment of which the Emperor's envoy powerfully contributed, Calvinism was tolerated like Lutheranism; this was but fair, considering what the common cause owed to the Calvinist Turenne. Everything was to be referred back to New Year's Day, 1624; the Protestants stickled in vain for 1618. Bohemia and Austria were of course lost to Lutheranism, and had to accept their hard lot of future degradation. The Upper Palatinate was united to Bavaria; and Maximilian, who had lived all through the Thirty Years, enjoyed the Electoral vote granted to him much earlier. There was a great innovation on the old Germanic constitution; an eighth Electoral vote was created for the son of the unlucky Frederick, and the Lower Palatinate was given back to the old line. Some bishoprics were bestowed on Brandenburg; Saxony kept Lusatia. Sweden held Western Pomerania and certain bishoprics, besides five millions of dollars. France kept the Austrian dominions in Alsace. The Imperial Court of justice was reconstituted for mutilated Germany; henceforth Protestants and Catholics were to sit there in equal

numbers. A Prince might still drive out his subjects if they opposed him in matters of religion. But henceforth, as a general rule, the rival creeds in Germany learnt to tolerate each other. It was a good sign that Pope Innocent X. protested against the Peace; the final loss of so many bishoprics was a heavy blow to Rome.

But at what a cost had this new tolerant spirit been bought? It was calculated that three-fourths of the people of Germany, so prosperous in 1618, had perished by the sword, famine, or plague; some towns, like Ummerstadt, had but one-eighth of their old population when the war was nearing its end. Wiesbaden stood absolutely empty for a whole year. Of horses, sheep, and cattle but few remained; most houses were either burnt or in ruins; the losses in some parts have hardly been made good in our own times. The provinces that suffered most from the consequences of the war seem to have been the old Slave countries to the South of the Baltic, where the peasantry had to maintain a numerous nobility, and were bound to the soil. In other parts standing armies and hosts of officials bore sad witness to a new state of things that had arisen in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

The armies, in which both officers and soldiers throve on plunder, had lived at their own will. They were followed by vast crowds of women, for whom the hapless peasants were often forced to find waggons and horses. In the last year of the war the camp followers were thrice as numerous as the fighting men. Every nation in Europe, except the Turks and Russians, had sent its children to live upon the Germans, and to fight either for the Jesuits or the Protestants. At one time the soldiers would be decked in gold and silver, at another they would be starving. The more reckless among them sold themselves to the Devil, and played strange tricks with the consecrated Host. The tortures inflicted on the peasantry to extract the coin hidden in the dunghills were frightful. One of the worst was what was called "the Swedish drink"; disgusting liquids were forced down the throat, and then the swollen

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, ii. 17, 197, 198.

body was stamped upon. The very name of this torture witnesses what degeneracy set in after the death of Gustavus. The generals, especially those of Sweden, sent home enormous sums of money. The peasantry, harassed to death, fled to the woods and took bloody vengeance on the soldiers; tillage in many places came to an end altogether. The coinage was debased very early in the struggle, and wages were paid in plated copper. The Lutheran clergy had not deserved well of their country just before the war; but they stood by their flocks nobly, took their payment in apples and cabbages, and held services in barns. Many of their narratives remain for our instruction. Cannibalism was frequent; a Duke writes, "In many places parents have eaten their children, and a man is not safe from his fellow, as many examples have shown." There was an outbreak against supposed witchcraft in 1627, when the Bishop of Wurzburg alone put to death nine hundred victims within two years.<sup>1</sup>

An English eye-witness, Master Crowne, who followed Lord Arundel on his embassy to Vienna in 1636, gives us some idea of the state of Germany in that year.<sup>2</sup> He speaks over and over again of villages "shot down"; at Bacharach poor folk were found dead with grass in their mouths; when relief was given to the starving poor at Mayence they struggled for it with each other. All the towns, from Cologne to Frankfort, had been pillaged or burnt. One village had been plundered eight and twenty times in two years, and twice in one day. Another, near Nuremberg, had once 250 burghers, of whom not five remained. At Nimeguen 12,000 had died of the plague that very summer. Even the soldiers confessed that they had had but one brown loaf and a half in eight days, and not one penny of money. Four hundred Austrian boors had risen against the Emperor, and seven of them were put to death at Lintz, one of whom was tortured with red-hot pincers; this seems to have been a Protestant move-

<sup>1</sup> This description I have taken from Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, vol. ii., and from Trench's *Gustavus Adolphus*.

<sup>2</sup> This is a small book of seventy pages, printed in 1637.

ment. Many Lutherans were seen hanging on a gallows near Ratisbon. To this town came the Emperor with many Electors and many foreign Ambassadors, to effect the election of his son as King of the Romans. They came in great state; the Elector of Mayence alone, in spite of the misery at home, brought 185 men and 179 horses. The Jesuit scholars distinguished themselves in comedy, and this talent was to be continued through the next century. Two of Lord Arundel's servants were murdered on the road, together with their guide; parties of the dreaded Croats abounded everywhere. Passengers on the Rhine had to dread large parties of plunderers on either bank. Even the Kaiser's pass was held in scorn by the governors in the Rhineland. We have before us a lifelike picture of the anarchy to which Germany was a prey for thirty years, in the days when her own Emperor was her worst enemy.<sup>1</sup>

Even the Catholics were sometimes torn asunder by internal sedition. Thus Philip Christopher, the Archbishop of Treves, was involved in a long dispute with his Chapter; one of his worst enemies was a neighbouring Metternich. The Prelate paid little respect to the Jesuits or to appeals to the Pope. In 1632 he threw open his dominions to the French and Swedes, much to the wrath of his own subjects, some of whom were hanged. Monasteries were burnt, and vast tributes were levied; small heed was given to the letters of Carafa the Nuncio. But in 1635 the Spaniards forced their way into Treves and carried off captive the rebel Archbishop, after plundering his palace; the French garrison in Ehrenbreitstein was starved out two years later. Treves was oppressed by the French and Spaniards alike, but the Lorrainers seem to have done most damage in the country. At last the Archbishop was allowed to return after a captivity of ten years, to fortify

<sup>1</sup> Balde, a contemporary Jesuit poet quoted by Dr. Trench, thus sums up the horrible contest—

Spes, opes, cives, focus, ara, longâ  
Strage procumbunt; nocet ille ferro,  
Ille Vulcano; tabulata sidunt,  
Culina fumant.

his city and to wage war upon his Chapter. He died in his eighty-seventh year.<sup>1</sup>

It might have been thought that at least the Universities, the thinking portion of Germany, would have done their best to lighten the evils of the time. Such was not the case; Meyfart, an Erfurt Professor, proclaimed the debasement of Protestantism, and contrasted the neglect of Scripture with the venomous polemics of his day. Some thought him a fanatic, others a martyr. He denounces the students of theology, who strutted about with boots and spurs, swords and plumes, and cast aside all study. Lutherans and Calvinists preached against each other, while the elders rejoiced. The mild Melanchthon's memory was devoted to the nethermost hell. The hatred to this good man, burning in the extreme Lutherans, is one of their worst points. The learned Doctors, pinched by poverty, took paying boarders, whom they screened from punishment. There prevailed an atrocious system of bullying the younger students, if unwilling to fight; this was called Pennalism. Nepotism and simony were in great vogue among the clergy.<sup>2</sup> Calixtus, the great oracle of the University of Helmstadt, tried to restore peace in theology, putting forth a treatise in 1650, wherein it was stated that all who recognise Christ as the Head are brothers and sisters in Him. The peacemaker was at once denounced by the fiery Lutherans as a man who turned his lyre to Judaisers, Arianisers, Romanisers, and Calvinisers, as a cook who made a hotch-potch of religion. Wittenberg was distracted by a controversy of her own, as to whether one small drop of Christ's blood had sufficed to redeem mankind. Men of sense were disgusted at these controversies, and it is not surprising that Rome about this time made many German converts.<sup>3</sup> Another messenger of concord was Durceus, a Scotchman, employed by Archbishop Laud

<sup>1</sup> *Epitome Annalium Trevirensium*, by Masenius, a Jesuit, printed in 1676, see 736-807. It is interesting to discover the views of the Jesuits on passing events; our author says of the deceased Richelieu, "ingentium coram Deo factorum rationem daturus"; of Pope Urban VIII., "oppugnatæ per Germaniam religionis otiosus spectator."

<sup>2</sup> Dowding's *Life of Calixtus*, 182-185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 314-319.



to make peace between the Lutherans and Calvinists. From 1631 to 1674 the envoy travelled about upon this business, finding few Germans willing to give him active help.

From these dreary quarrels we turn to a Northern Prince, the harbinger of happier days. In the year 1640 George William of Brandenburg, the poor creature who took the side of Austria against his brother Protestants from Sweden, was succeeded by his son Frederick William, known in History as the Great Elector, who had learned to think in Holland.<sup>1</sup> While all Germany seems swamped by the waves of the Deluge, we may give a glance at the Ark, now beginning to ride above the stormy waters. Many a mighty house had been raised to the Empire and passed away since the days of the Great Charles. The latest of these lines, that of Hapsburg, poisoned by Jesuitism, was clearly unworthy of the Imperial rights which it was still grasping with resolute hand. A change was to come, but few in 1640 could foretell the destinies of that Electoral house, which as yet held little beyond Brandenburg and East Prussia, and which in the end was to rise high above the Hapsburgs. It is a wonderful history, that of the Hohenzollerns; we first see them, simple knights of Zollern in Swabia, about 1050, Burgraves of Nuremberg in 1192, Electors of Brandenburg in 1417, Kings of Prussia in 1701, German Emperors in 1870. No long-lived European house, now reigning, has ever made so gradual and sure an ascent up the hill of greatness. These Princes have usually been strong men since 1640, but their line has every now and then been chequered by some very weak ruler.<sup>2</sup>

The Great Elector found his dominions overrun, not only by Austrians and Swedes, but by his own mutinous soldiers. The Council of Berlin uttered loud complaints; friend and foe had made the land a wilderness; the officers

<sup>1</sup> But we must not forget that the old Elector was the first Advocate of real toleration in Germany.

<sup>2</sup> The very long-lived houses of France and Russia seem to attain to greatness all at once, without much slow climbing. The Savoyards have not climbed so high as the Hohenzollerns.

kept the soldiers' pay for themselves; towns and villages were in ruins; for miles neither men nor cattle, not a dog nor a cat, could be seen. Yet the taxes were exacted; houses and lands were taken from the rightful owners and given to the officers. The clergy and teachers could not be paid. Some had been driven to suicide, others to exile.<sup>1</sup> Schwartzberg, the minister partial to Austria, happily died in 1641, and the young Elector was able to bring his mutinous army to reason. The Estates quickly suspected that their Prince was aiming at becoming their Master; Cleves and East Prussia had powerful foreign protectors to whom they could appeal against his encroachments. The end of the Thirty Years' War came in 1648, when the young Elector gained possession of the greater part of Pomerania and of four bishoprics. He soon came into collision with his Estates, being intent on keeping up a standing army, which they were loth to pay for. Diets soon became things of the past. England may pride herself on her parliaments, but Prussia climbed to greatness mainly by the help of the drill sergeant. The various States that were under the Elector as yet stood aloof from each other; they were soon to be compressed by an iron hand.

In 1656 the Great Elector joined the Swedes, and drove the Polish army out of Warsaw. His German territories suffered in consequence from Tartar inroads. But he soon skipped nimbly from the side of Sweden to that of Poland, and thereby gained the release of his Prussian duchy from all homage to the Polish King; the treaty to this effect was made in 1657. The Duchy speedily found itself subject to a Despot, in spite of the hearty resistance of both nobles and burghers, who stood up for their old rights. One bold patriot, a German Elliot, underwent an imprisonment of sixteen years; another was seized in Poland, brought home, and beheaded. These Lutherans, on this occasion at least, showed the political spirit more usually found in Calvinists. But the Elector had a well-trained army, and he could do as he liked with

<sup>1</sup> Tuttle's *History of Prussia*, 142.

his subjects; the people lost by degrees their old rights, never to be regained.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that Lutheranism was favourable to the freedom of mankind; Denmark and Sweden are standing witnesses to the contrary. In Mecklenburg the Diet in 1607 decreed that the peasants were bound to give up their lands, held by them for ages, to their landlords. Some years later the peasantry were reduced to serfage; in 1660 they were punished with death if they left the Principality, and there was an underground trade in these serfs. They strove to escape, even to Russia; the whole country was unpeopled, and serfage was abolished only in 1820. In Pomerania the confiscated Church property was squandered in drink and luxury; here also the peasants were stripped of their farms, and were subject to the oppression of the Roman law. Preachers were forced to proclaim fugitive serfs from the pulpit. The new law triumphed in Brunswick and Hanover, though the cities and nobles down to the middle of this Century offered some resistance to the boundless taxes enforced by their rulers. The coinage was debased and the money was clipped, to the ruin of thousands. In Saxony the oppression of the subject seems to have begun earlier than elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

We may now inquire who were the men by whom the framework of the Holy Roman Empire was upborne. Marshal Gramont had already enjoyed some experience of German customs; when taken prisoner in 1645 he had been so well entertained at Munich, and so many healths had been drunk, that all the guests and the master of the ceremonies had sunk under the table. "It is the German fashion," writes the Marshal, "and you must take it in good part when you treat with Germans." The way to deal with them was to give constant banquets and presents. Gramont was in 1657 sent as ambassador, along with the renowned De Lyonne, to the Diet of Frankfort, where Leopold I., the son of Ferdinand III., was in the end chosen

<sup>1</sup> I have here consulted both Ranke and Tuttle, who take very different views of the Elector's dealings with his subjects.

<sup>2</sup> Dollinger, *The Church and the Churches*, 92-100.

Emperor. The French envoys admired Strasburg, thoroughly well fortified, and boasting one of the finest arsenals in Europe, though the bridge over the Rhine was bad. The town was Lutheran, and Mass was said only in one nunnery. The Elector Palatine, son of the unlucky Frederick, received the French envoys at Heidelberg; they were astonished to see the country here as well tilled and peopled as though it had not been a wilderness only twelve years earlier. They promised an immense bribe to the Elector (this brother of Prince Rupert's was a most suspicious man), to be given in three instalments. We are now far from the days of the old wise Saxon Electors. The envoys next visited at Frankfort the Elector of Mayence, a nobleman of the house of Schonborn, a patriot whose watchword was, "Seek peace and ensue it"; he had already been the chief promoter of peace at Munster. He had always thirty covers at his table, and the meal lasted from twelve to six; being a good Christian, he carried his liquor well. He had Lutheran domestics in his household, whom he tried to convert. Next came his cousin, the Elector of Treves, a dry, wearisome, and bulky man, an Archbishop who excelled in little but drinking; he knew nothing of learning or of the affairs of the Empire. Most different was the Elector of Cologne, cousin to the Bavarian, a Prelate truthful and disinterested, who never drank to excess unless this was absolutely indispensable. He it was who thus addressed the young Emperor with true German bluntness: "You have been much bored here, but it would have been far worse for you if you had not signed the capitulation, for then it is certain that you would never have been Emperor."<sup>1</sup> At this His Majesty only opened his huge mouth and said nothing. The Saxon Elector had a rare capacity for drinking every day of his life, an heritage from his father, John George, who had died the year before. The worst term the new Elector could apply to any councillor was that of Calvinist.<sup>2</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> The capitulation was in the interest of France, for it bound the future Emperor not to aid the Spaniards.

<sup>2</sup> This strong Lutheran never got drunk in the morning when he took the Sacrament, but he repaired the omission in the evening by drinking himself under the table.

read of one dinner which lasted from twelve to nine; hundreds of healths were drunk, and all the Electors danced upon the table; every one by the end had had too much. The great aim of the French was to make the Elector of Bavaria Emperor, but this they could not compass; in vain did Gramont travel to Munich with this object in view. The Elector, a man of limited intellect, thought only in politics of obeying his spiritual guides; if he followed their orders he thought he was as little likely to go wrong as the Pope. Bavaria has been for ages a dead weight upon Germany.

The Electors were fairly balanced, the Brandenburger holding the casting vote; the French bestowed much money upon two of his ministers; but in vain, for the Austrian won the election. The Swedish minister at Frankfort was furious on hearing his countrymen styled "the hirelings of France"; they certainly on this occasion secured much French gold, which their blundering war in Poland rendered necessary. The Austrian party made it a great grievance against France that she had allied herself with Cromwell (it was now 1658) in the attack on Dunkirk; all the monks were furious; but the Electors of Mayence and Cologne, though their confessors were Jesuits, never forsook the side of France. The Pope's Nuncio was vehement against the French, and equally watchful to promote the smallest interest of Spain; he was refused the salute given by the Frankfort burghers even to foreign merchants; and here the Elector of Mayence would do nothing for him. The French envoys could not prevent Leopold's election, but they made him sign a capitulation in their favour; in fact, next year Spain, bereft of her allies, was driven to submit to France. Gramont was able to form a German league in his country's interest; this comprised among others the Three Spiritual Electors, the Elector Palatine, the Bishop of Munster, the Dukes of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse; none of them guessed what an ill neighbour to Germany Gramont's master was to prove.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gramont's account of his embassy in Petitot's *Collection of Memoirs*, lvi. 442, etc., and lvii. 1-38.



The envoy, taking careful note of the coaches-and-six, and of the number of bows to be made to each Prince, lights up the dreary German annals of this period with his sparkling French humour. It was rather later that a countryman of his propounded the famous question: "Is it possible for a German to have wit?"

About 1665 Germany could put 200,000 men into the field; of weapons, they handled the sword and arquebus best; their good order made them strong in battle, both in charging and standing fast; but they were not good at storming a town; they were prone to indiscriminate slaughter and to mutiny. They insisted on being followed by huge trains of baggage and women; provisions they must have. Most of their horses were taken from the plough, and not worth much in battle.<sup>1</sup>

The Teutonic Princes in 1668 were but a sorry bulwark against France; a gentleman specially sent to make his observations on the left bank of the Rhine brought back word that these rulers were divided among themselves, weak, slow in council, a prey to laziness and drunkenness, cold in setting to work, and as it were, all in a maze; it was plain that they would become a prey to any one who might choose to conquer them.<sup>2</sup> The nobles in many parts indemnified themselves for their servility to the Princes by encroachments upon the rights of the peasants. Serfdom had been formally re-established in Pomerania in 1617, and the result of the Thirty Years' War was to depress the peasant more than ever. Eastern Germany was more especially crushed, for there the peasants, of old Slavonian blood, were subject to masters of a more civilised race. The villeins had to perform manual labour for their lords, to see their crops destroyed for the amusement of noble sportsmen, to buy the game and fish which the Lord found otherwise unsaleable, to feel the stick upon their backs. Even Frederick the Great could not altogether abolish this last usage in Silesia. It was estimated that nearly three-fourths of the population of Germany were peasants, subject to

<sup>1</sup> *Europæ Modernæ Speculum*, 184-186.

<sup>2</sup> Barozzi, *Relazioni Venete*, serie 2, Francia, iii. 194.

oppression such as has been described. Things did not change for the better till after 1700.<sup>1</sup>

Even in Brandenburg there was room for many reforms. Louis XIV., now in all his glory, was the model for imitation; the expenses of the Berlin Court rose with great rapidity. But the salaries of officials were wretchedly low, while taxes were high. The Great Elector created the renowned Prussian army; here the nobles were preferred, as in our own day; they soon gave up their bold stand against their master. Meanwhile the peasantry sank in the social scale. The Prussian towns gained much by the immigration of the banished French Huguenots, the best of all citizens; just as the Saxon domains had been repopled by the sturdiest burghers and peasants of Bohemia. Morality had sunk very low after the Thirty Years' War; even army chaplains gave way to drunkenness. But theologians were in full cry, and the Elector had to put forth certain edicts forbidding the issue of controversial pamphlets and religious libels. He proved to the world that he was ready to make sacrifices for his religion, but he seems to have cared little how ill-paid the clergy were. Gerhard, the great Lutheran poet, was banished for his sermons against the Calvinists. Theology was the one subject studied, while belief in witchcraft more than kept its ground. The worst, not the best, points of France were copied; her rich dresses, her debauchery, and her crushing taxation; not her wit and literature, now in their prime. Even the Great Elector, so far as he could, strove to ape the Court of Versailles.<sup>2</sup>

But he has the merit, almost alone of German Princes, of withstanding that Court after 1672, when it seemed likely to overwhelm Protestantism altogether. His troops effected little on the Rhine, for he soon had to turn Northwards, France having brought the Swedes into the war as her allies. In 1675 he won the battle of Fehrbellin against great odds, but four years later France forced him to restore to Sweden nearly all his conquests. As a rule he clave to the Austrian alliance, though he contributed but slightly to

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, second series, i. 45-61.

<sup>2</sup> Tuttle's *History of Prussia* must be consulted here.

the work of driving the Turk out of Hungary. The rumbling of the great Silesian question, that was to convulse Europe fifty years later, might already be heard. More serious at the moment was the treacherous seizure of Strasburg in 1681 by the agents of the French despot; the grand Cathedral, which the Protestants had held for a hundred and fifty years, was handed over to the Pope. Louis was at his highest pinnacle, lording it over distracted Germany; he was now able to enforce the use of French instead of the old Latin when State documents were to be compiled. His policy was defeated when in 1683 Lorraine and many other Princes of the Empire (some were Protestants) bore their share in the relief of Vienna. The Great Elector, the steadiest opponent of France, died in the spring of the famous year 1688, thus just missing the smart stroke on behalf of his beloved Protestantism, to be dealt within a few months, a stroke which he heartily approved.

His son, Frederick III., was a man of showy tastes and luxurious habits, spending on his Court vast sums wrung from the people; he would even at times resort to a poll-tax. The army was well maintained, and did its part in breaking the power of the great French despot.<sup>1</sup> Louis made a wrangle over the mitre of Cologne the pretext for assailing Germany with sword and fire. Frederick himself came forward boldly on the other side, and took Bonn in 1689, a baleful year for his country. Then it was that the Palatinate was wantonly laid waste in mid-winter; that nearly half a million of men were driven from their burning villages to beg or starve all over Europe. Monasteries and churches were not spared; the grand Cathedral of Spire was profaned, and the tombs of eight Cæsars were broken open. Even the churches of the Jesuits were destroyed at Worms. Treves had a narrow escape from the common ruin. The Turks on the Danube, so went the cry, had never been guilty of such outrages.<sup>2</sup> Germany may well moan over

<sup>1</sup> Tuttle, p. 260, makes it doubtful whether the "Brandenburg boys" of the English ballad quoted by Lord Macaulay ever had any existence on our shores.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from Macaulay's *History*, iii. 126, a few sentences from the Emperor's letter: "Galli fas sibi ducunt . . . urbes direptas funditus

the disunion of the past and rejoice in her changed condition; she need never again fear "a Most Christian Turk," as Louis was called.

It might have been thought that all good Germans would at once haste to the rescue. But the Elector of Saxony, the head of the Lutherans, needed another spur besides patriotism. His Electoral house seems to have acted almost invariably as a drag upon the best interests of the Empire, and to have made itself remarked for peculiar baseness. In 1693 he gave the services of twelve thousand men against the French for one year for 400,000 thalers. This treaty could only be made permanent by bribing the Elector's mistress with much English gold; William and Mary of England stood sponsors to the bastard child born to the Elector. The mistress quarrelled with the Lutheran clergy, who refused her absolution; flatterers began to publish books on the lawfulness of polygamy. But in 1694 she died of smallpox in the twentieth year of her age, and was soon followed to the grave by her lover, John George IV., who thus made way for his brother, the future King of Poland.<sup>1</sup>

Brandenburg, unlike Saxony, stood high in the estimation of Europe when peace was made in 1697. Meanwhile literature and art were thriving. Spener, a mild Puritan, who scorned the trammels of a narrow Lutheranism, and who was therefore driven from Frankfort and Dresden, sought refuge in tolerant Berlin. Unlike most of the theologians, he appealed, not to the head, but the heart; millions of Bibles were printed by his disciples, and his influence spread to Scandinavia and Greece.<sup>2</sup> Another bold thinker, Thomasius, denounced the common belief in witchcraft, and also the practice of torture; he was a pioneer of the revival of the German tongue. Puffendorf came to study the Berlin archives for his historical works. Leibnitz, the greatest of them all, made Berlin his residence for *exscindere aut flamunis delere, Palatia Principum . . . exurere, templa spoliare.*" Reference is made to deeds, "*ipsam Turcorum tyrannidem superantia.*"

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, *State Papers and Correspondence*, 146-152.

<sup>2</sup> Rose, *State of Protestantism in Germany*, 45-48.



many years, finding there a charming patroness. There were, moreover, learned French refugees, such as Lenfant and Beausobre, whose ponderous works were later to furnish Gibbon with much sound matter. A new University, that of Halle, was founded in 1694, soon to become the first Protestant school in Germany. Here it was boldly claimed that Pallas ought to be the symbol of Prussia, since she was at the head of the arts both of war and peace. What was not true in 1694 became true in less than two hundred years. Even at this time Germany was waking up to new life, as she had not done since the days of the Saxon Maurice.

Toleration was the order of the day at Berlin; it could not be otherwise where the Electress Sophia Charlotte had any influence, a daughter of the renowned Electress Sophia of Hanover. In the Palace at Berlin, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Jesuit were alike welcome; their hostess much preferred the talk of the learned to the pompous ceremonies in which her husband's soul delighted. Still, with all his faults, it was he who founded the two Academies of arts and sciences, though here he did not altogether follow up the schemes of Leibnitz. Toland, who travelled through North Germany in 1702, declares that the churches both in town and country were kept in the best repair; Lutherans and Calvinists alike had steeples and bells, the Government herein showing a tolerant spirit beyond that of the Dutch. There was a grand amphitheatre at Berlin for the baiting of lions, bears, and bulls, kept in dens below. New buildings arose every day. The inroad of the French refugees had doubled the revenue in a very few years. The Lutheran clergy were paid by the State, while the Calvinist ministers, except those depending on the Court, were paid by freewill offerings, and were the richer of the two Confessions. The King spent so much on diamonds, that his crown and sceptre surpassed those of all other Courts; Toland refuses to join in blaming this profusion. The best ornament of the Court was the Queen, excelling all women both in beauty and wit, equally at home with philosophers and musicians; so just an idea of government had she, that



throughout all Germany she was called "the Republican Queen." Her little son (who was to turn out the greatest boor of his day) is described by Toland as "a most lovely Prince, very mild and affable." There was equal toleration in Hanover, where the spirit of Calixtus seemed to linger; most of the clergy were Syncretists—that is, they admitted both Protestant confessions to Communion. Meanwhile the Lutherans in Saxony were more rigid if possible than the Papists themselves. Toland gives a good description of the patriarchs of the line soon to be established in Great Britain, drawing a veil over a certain great scandal.<sup>1</sup>

The Hohenzollerns had by this time mounted a higher rung of the ladder. Germany has, at some time or other, supplied almost every Christian country with Kings. One German line had in this Century gained the Swedish crown; another now stood on the steps of the British throne. In 1696 Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, who resembled Hercules in more ways than one, was chosen King of Poland upon changing his religion. The Elector of Brandenburg would not be left behind; in 1700 the Emperor Leopold was forced by stress of politics to confer a crown—that of Prussia—upon the mightiest of all his nominal subjects. Some said that the Pope alone could make kings; but this had become an unbelieving age, and Rome thundered in vain against the new upstart. Early in 1701 Frederick's coronation took place at Königsberg, when he himself, against all Royal precedents, set the crown on his own head; he was afterwards anointed by the clergy. One thing alone jarred upon the courtiers in the pompous ceremonial; the Queen often yawned, and took a pinch of snuff at the most solemn moment, much to her husband's anger.

A great war was soon on foot, and the Prussian regiments had to be maintained by unflinching severity of discipline and by grinding taxation. These troops were led by young Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, and were among the best soldiers that served under the great Eugene,

<sup>1</sup> Toland adds to his little book the Declaration of the Elector Palatine (a Roman Catholic) in favour of his Protestant subjects, given in 1705, an interesting document.

as both Blenheim and Turin bore witness. Twice had Marlborough to visit the new King, with the view of keeping him steady to the grand Alliance. Meanwhile Frederick's Court saw the rise and fall of Ministers, some honest, some mere Court favourites. Their master was more intent upon alchemy and upon ceremonies borrowed from France than upon the true well-being of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Still despotism was not as yet so firmly established as it was to be in the next reign. King Frederick died early in 1713, having first beheld his infant grandson, the greatest man of the whole line.<sup>2</sup>

Next came young Frederick William the First, whose leading idea was a strong army and an abject population. His first political act was to drive away all his father's fine courtiers and to cut down the salaries of officials to the lowest sum possible. His first exploit in war, and his last, was to wrest Stralsund in 1715 from Charles XII., who was now not far from his end. The Prussian King soon found himself master of a large part of Swedish Pomerania, the district so coveted by his grandfather. He plunged into no disastrous alliances with the other States of Europe; his main idea in politics was hatred of the house of Hanover, but the two great Ministers of Great Britain and France kept Europe at peace for many years. Yet for all that the Prussian King was always increasing his army; he left at his death ninety thousand good soldiers, and much money in the treasury for his great successor to handle. His foibles about tall grenadiers and his brutal treatment of his own children are too well known. He abolished feudal tenures in his dominions.<sup>3</sup> He stood high as a champion of Pro-

<sup>1</sup> The King, fond of ceremonies, was attracted to the Anglican Church, and tried to introduce our Liturgy into Prussia in the latter years of his life. He had it translated into German, and would not allow extempore prayer in his own chapel. There is a correspondence between Archbishop Sharp and Jablonski on the subject. The King's descendant, who came to the throne in 1840, was also much drawn to the Anglican Church, as is shown by his eagerness to found the Jerusalem Bishopric. See Rose, *State of Protestantism in Germany*, 246, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Tuttle gives a fair picture of the first King.

<sup>3</sup> Tuttle, p. 392, contrasts this with the like change in England under Charles II.

testantism, interposing on behalf of the Lutheran subjects of the Archbishop of Salzburg, much harried in 1727. The Diet of the Empire would not carry out the Treaty of Westphalia; the old state of things in Germany was deservedly nearing its end. The Archbishop drove his refractory subjects into Bavaria in the middle of winter. King Frederick sent them money and settled them in his own dominions, where they became almost as great a blessing as the French Huguenots had been. To effect all this, and to wrest some of the plundered gold from the Archbishop's coffers, Frederick had to threaten reprisals on his own Catholics.

He is less entitled to praise in his dealings with his subjects; he would hang men for slight faults, and poachers were always sent to the gallows; the rack was not yet abolished. The peasants were more or less serfs through the greater part of his dominions. Pomerania was especially oppressed.<sup>1</sup> The clergy made no resistance to Royal tyranny; but Winkelmann fled to more genial climes, avowing that it was better to be a eunuch in a Turkish harem than a Prussian subject. It must indeed have been a fearful lot to be governed by a busybody, prowling about cane in hand, steadily averse to spare a mite from his well-filled treasury for art or learning, ready to insult Leibnitz and to banish Wolf.

Frederick William founded the system of universal military service and universal common school education, though even here he was most frugal. As to religion, strange as it may seem, this Calvinist King would hear nothing of the doctrine of Predestination, so dear to our William III. and to Charles XII. The Prussian thought that it limited his despotic power, and therefore forbade it in the pulpits. In 1733 he swept away many of the Roman ceremonies kept by the Lutheran Church; and wished the whole of Brandenburg to follow the example set

<sup>1</sup> I give a specimen of the German of this time. "*Die Junkers ihre Autorität . . . wird ruinert werden. Ich stabilire die Souveraineté wie einen Rocher von Bronze.*" This was an answer of the King to a remonstrance of his nobles.

in Berlin. He suspended many of the clergy for protesting; others gave up their livings. The Memnonites, banished from Russia, offended the King by refusing to serve in the army.<sup>1</sup> Literature now gave but a feeble light; we are in the gap between Leibnitz and Lessing. A foreign writer mourns that the Germans have written genealogies innumerable, and have published many diplomata, acts, rules, and usages of every little village and convent, yet have never given to the world a History of Germany, though the materials were abundant. Yet they would clear up with the utmost pains a part of an old medal, or a lake hinted at by some old poet.<sup>2</sup> The German taste in literature was now directed by Gottsched, whose main aim was to exalt the works of France above those of England; Germany, a few years later, was to know better.

Keysler, about 1730, gives us a glimpse of the German towns as they stood then. Ulm had much degenerated; the old saying had been "the lords of Ulm, the merchants of Nuremberg, and the burghers of Augsburg." The poorer the old cities became, the more they gave themselves up to feasting, with little thought of the public weal. Wurtemberg might have welcomed hundreds of industrious French Huguenots, but the Lutheran preachers had declared that even Mahometanism was better than Calvinism. Yet some of the poor persecuted Waldenses had been kindly received. The revenues of the State came to two millions of guilders. Here the schools and universities were most carefully watched, and examinations were frequent; no Protestant province in Germany bred abler preachers; there were always three hundred students at Tubingen, partly maintained by the State.<sup>3</sup> Erfurt had thirty-two thousand inhabitants, three-fourths of whom were Protestants; their ministers were paid by the Elector of Mayence. In the University all the professors must be Catholics. At

<sup>1</sup> As to the affairs of religion see Tuttle, 472-475.

<sup>2</sup> I take this from the *Present State of Holland*, p. 200, published in 1865. The author brings the like charge against the Italian antiquaries, who busied themselves as to whether Priapus wore one dress or more. But here the author should have done justice to men like Giannone and Muratori.

<sup>3</sup> Keysler's *Travels*, i. 81, 83, 99.



Nuremberg the Catholics were now allowed the exercise of their own worship; the religion of the town, as to Latin hymns, surplices, and ceremonies, smacked much of Rome; the system was a relic of the renowned Interim. The arsenal contained nearly three hundred brass cannon; one was a breech-loader; the city always kept a small army on foot. The townsmen seldom admitted any stranger to their houses, though they would make him drunk at the tavern.<sup>1</sup>

The Diet of the Empire had met at Ratisbon for more than a century, the Imperial Commissioner taking precedence of all, and exacting much ceremony; there were many disputes about precedence and the title of Excellency. The last Commissioner had, it was said, brought over twenty thousand Protestants, giving a dollar to every soldier that conformed. The French envoy was apt to laugh at the questions about coaches-and-six and suchlike. The envoy from Mayence assumed rather too much. Some of the Catholic members were so bigoted that they sent for all their provisions from Hof, that Ratisbon, a Protestant city, might reap no advantage.<sup>2</sup> The ladies in the Upper and Lower Minster received visits and went to balls; they might quit the Abbey on marrying; the Abbesses behaved like Princesses. The Scotch convent supplied missionaries for work at home. The Protestants had a chapel in a hospital outside the town, the only chapel of theirs tolerated in all Bavaria. Much smuggling went on for the benefit of the various envoys. The Canonesses, play, and daily assemblies supplied plenty of amusement to the visitors. There was much rejoicing in 1727 over the conversion to Rome of Count Metternich, the Prussian envoy, at a time when he was almost distracted with the pain of the stone.<sup>3</sup>

At Heidelberg the proportion now was one Catholic to two Lutherans and three Calvinists. The Court contrived to fill the best Protestant livings with men of slender abilities, and conversions were found useful in evading the sentence of law. The heir to the Palatine drank five

<sup>1</sup> Keyser's *Travels*, iv. 152, 184, 186, 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 226-235.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 214, 218, 236.



bottles of wine every day. The country had almost repaired the losses caused by earlier French ravages. The Frankfort fairs were famous, and it was thought that the goods exposed for sale in the time of these fairs were worth ten millions of dollars. Neither the French nor the German Calvinists could obtain a chapel at Frankfort for their worship, but they had to go a league from the town on Sunday; two hundred and fifty coaches usually made the pious pilgrimage. The saying ran that here the Catholics had the churches, the Lutherans the magistracy, and the Calvinists the money. Things were still worse in Lorraine, where every one who forsook the Pope was doomed to the gallows, a law that was a bequest of the League; even foreign Protestants were denied Christian burial in Lorraine. Still many heretics frequented the famous Academy at Luneville, which was much favoured by the Duke.<sup>1</sup>

After this glimpse at old Germany we turn to a most different scene; in 1740 Frederick William, the creator of Potsdam, the man who had made a great future possible for Prussia, was borne to the grave. His son was Frederick the Great. The new King's wars have been worthily told elsewhere; a very different side of his character here claims our attention. His father's shortcomings were forthwith remedied; the excessive preservation of game was stopped; the suppressed ceremonies of the Lutherans were once more tolerated. On the third day of his reign torture in Prussia was abolished, though the whole criminal procedure had in consequence to be changed. Marriage dispensations were done away; a few of these still lingered in Protestant countries. Religious toleration had long been the custom in Prussia, and Frederick declared that each of his subjects should go to heaven in his own way; England had not yet reached this high level.<sup>2</sup>

Silesia had been well fleeced by the old Austrian Government; her young conqueror was now made heartily welcome. The land had once been thoroughly Protestant,

<sup>1</sup> Keyser's *Travels*, ii. 255, 266, 279.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *House of Brandenburg*, ii. 50-58.

and even after the dismal Thirty Years' War the Reaction had not been so thoroughgoing as in Bohemia. But Protestants were shut out of office, were forced to conform to the Pope's restrictions upon marriages, and were sometimes forcibly converted. There were always conscientious Lutherans inmates of the gaols. Many a Protestant sermon was preached in honour of the young Prussian who brought light into the thick darkness. The old burgher spirit had never died out of Breslau, where the conquering Frederick arrived on the first day of 1741. He soon found that he had here gained thousands of loyal hearts. The Protestant ritual once more started into life, and prayers for the Queen of Hungary were no longer read in the churches. Her troops could not face the Prussian fire in battle, a rapid fire such as had never hitherto been seen in this world. During the decisive battle the children in the streets of Breslau fell on their knees, praying for the new King's success; the two parties in the town all but fell to blows. But in the end even the Jesuits at Vienna had to acquiesce in the cession of Silesia to the heretics.<sup>1</sup>

Frederick had acquired a new province in such a situation, that he would be almost forced to seize part of Poland in future years to round off his dominions, as any one may see who glances at East Prussia and Silesia on the map. The Catholic priests greatly complained of the new burdens thrown upon them; they had of old paid but one-tenth of what the Protestant clergy had contributed. Yet these latter did not get back one of the hundred churches that had been taken from them, and conversions to their party were discouraged. But they built at once the hundred temples (much later called churches), and paid their own preachers. Catholics and Protestants alike gave thanks to God in public for the peace of 1742.<sup>2</sup> Three years later Prussia was to be acknowledged as one of the Powers of Europe.

It was wonderful what Frederick did in Silesia. He found the villages clusters of huts formed of the trunks of trees, the pastures covered with thistles and molehills, the horses weak, the cows lean, the landholders despots.

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *House of Brandenburg*, ii. 146-156, 270.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 447, 457.

Hardly a score of years later 250 new villages and 2000 new cottages had been built, horses were brought from Prussia and silkworms from France; oaks and mulberries were planted, and the potato was introduced. The villeins had their goods secured to them, and obtained the right of complaint; every man knew that his position would be weighed by the King himself. The villagers used to throng round their benefactor's carriage; they had little doubt as to the comparative merits of Austrian or Prussian sway.<sup>1</sup>

Frederick's rule was grounded on complete toleration (except in the case of the Jews), in striking contrast to the system of his neighbours on the East and South. He was anxious for Catholics to enter his service; they built at this time a church in Berlin. He dealt most mildly with some of their monks, who had plotted in favour of Austria. More favourable to him were the Jesuits, whom he invited out of France; and Cardinal Sinzendorf, the Archbishop of Breslau, was his very good friend. Pope Benedict XIV. was now on the Papal throne, and toleration everywhere was making rapid strides.

The King took heed of the wishes of parishioners when he filled up a benefice. He thought that the preachers of his day were wanting in knowledge of Scripture. His great aim was to keep down all bigotry.<sup>2</sup> The Protestants throughout Germany looked up to Frederick as their champion, and in good sooth they had need of one. The Protestant Electors of 1620 were three; in 1700 two of their representatives had gone over to Rome. This new tendency was also found in the rulers of Wurtemberg and Hesse. It was Frederick who insisted that the heirs of these noble perverts should be bred Protestants. Louis XV. could not approve of this zeal for heresy on the part of the Prussian Court, and his own love of the Papacy was one of the causes that threw France out of the Prussian into the Austrian scale, a change so momentous to Europe.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, second series, i. 63, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *House of Brandenburg*, ii. 407-415.

<sup>3</sup> Vehse, *Court of Prussia*, translated by Demmler, 274-276.

Sweden and Holland had by this time rather gone down in the world, but never did Protestantism stand higher in the estimation of men than in the Seven Years' War, when those staunch allies, Frederick and Pitt, were dealing their blows in all directions. The year 1757 is the great year of Prussia, the year 1759 of Britain. The victory of Leuthen (it ended with a Lutheran hymn sung by the conquerors) is almost incredible when we think of the odds against Frederick. But I would rather dwell on the earlier day of Rossbach, so disastrous to France, when Germany won her first brilliant national victory since the days of Otho the Great. She had now at last a man who could make her name respected throughout the world. Even those Germans whose rulers were fighting on the Austrian side rejoiced over the triumphs won by their great countryman over Frenchman and Muscovite, Croat and Magyar. Tales about him flew all over Germany. The Swiss Cantons and the London populace alike rejoiced over his victories; and even his French enemies never tired of contrasting him with their own wretched statesmen and soldiers. One of his subjects received gifts from sympathising magistrates in the middle of Sicily. Turks and Tartars were among Frederick's admirers; and the Emperor of Morocco vowed that no Prussians should be assailed by his cruisers or be confined in his prisons, since their King was the greatest man in the world.<sup>1</sup>

He was almost worn out by the awful struggle. Perhaps his worst time was at the end of 1761, when Pitt had to make way for an enemy to Prussia, and when the Russian Empress was still furious as ever against her old censor. Rather earlier Frederick writes: "Next year I shall still have to dance on the tight rope and make dangerous bounds when it pleases their Very Apostolical, Very Christian, and Very Muscovite Majesties to call out, 'Jump, Marquis!' Ah, how hard-hearted men are!"<sup>2</sup>

Peace came at last in 1763, and Frederick was free once more to drain swamps, throw up dykes, and make advances for building new manufactories; banks, schools,

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures*, second series, ii. 79-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

and immigrants were encouraged. The ravages of war had been fearful, especially in Silesia; here the population in 1763 hardly stood above what it had been in 1740. Every Prussian (great here was the contrast with Austria) might read what books he chose, and might find his way to heaven by his own path. Every official had to work hard for small pay, and knew that the King's eye was upon him. Nobles had to pay their taxes like the small fry. Lawyers decreased because judgment was so speedy. Frederick gloried in being the first servant of the State.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing of the spoilt child in him, that untoward element in character which afterwards brought Napoleon to wreck.

Silesia was not his last acquisition. Poland had been rapidly falling to pieces, and in 1768 her two great faults, bigotry and anarchy, had become most glaring. Her German subjects of the North-West, steady Lutherans, were shamefully handled; their churches were pulled down and their preachers driven away. Toleration was now making way everywhere except in Poland. One nobleman was condemned to have his tongue torn out and his hands chopped off for having copied out some biting remarks on the Jesuits. A Protestant preacher in 1768 lost his hands, his feet, and at last his head. The cities, such as Bromberg, lay in ruins. In Culm most of the houses had neither roofs, nor doors, nor inmates. In the villages, stoves and candles were unknown; the chief articles of furniture were the crucifix and a bowl of holy water; bread was hardly ever seen. There was no post or medical aid in the country, and wolves were swarming.<sup>2</sup>

Over this hotbed of anarchy did Frederick feel himself called upon to rule. He did his utmost to make up by sound government for his most questionable title to West Prussia; and we must remember that the First Partition, striking at the roots of Ultramontaniam, was a very venial

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures*, second series, ii. 91-95.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 100-103. The Poles were as eager to get money as to persecute heretics; one of the saws then usual was, "Vexa Lutheranum, dabit thalerum."



affair, if compared with the later Partitions. But Germany was the true theatre of his exploits, and a good German he proved himself to the last, in all but in aversion for the rising national literature and in enmity to Luther's beloved ideals. The ruler held Christianity in scorn, and many of his subjects were not far behind him. The patriot Arndt writes: "There has never been more atheism in the world, from the palaces of France to the poorest huts of Germany, than from 1770 to 1790. . . . I passed through an epoch like this myself; I prayed with fervour as a boy, I laughed and scoffed as a youth; may innocence and piety not be wanting to me in old age!"<sup>1</sup>

Austria had long coveted the possession of Bavaria, and had wheedled the new Elector into signing a resignation of much of his territory. Frederick, ever on the watch to thwart his old enemy, took in 1778 the well-known road into Bohemia at the head of his army. He lost few men by the sword, but many thousands by disease. Next year peace was signed; and Maria Theresa gained only a strip of Bavarian land; Frederick had once more come before the world as the champion of Germany against the tyrannical Hapsburgs. His portrait was hung up in the cottages of the Bavarian peasants as their protector on earth, while a certain Saint was reputed their protector in heaven; lamps were burnt before the two patrons. Austria once more in 1785 attempted to get hold of Bavaria, but Frederick again formed a league of nearly all Germany, and thus thwarted the revived project. In 1785, when he was not far from the grave, we are approaching the last peaceful days of the old Empire. The famous Stein, then only seven-and-twenty, was sent as Prussian Ambassador to certain German States, inviting them to enrol themselves in this new bond of Princes directed against Austria. The Elector of Mayence, Archbishop as he was, joined Frederick's league, believing himself as Arch-Chancellor specially called upon to uphold the laws. He thrived on the sale of his patronage; while the Austrian Court tried to gain his niece by offering her a decision worth 60,000 gulden in the

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Baur, *Religious Life in Germany*, i. 245.

Imperial Council. Russia and France in vain opposed Frederick's patriotic scheme.<sup>1</sup>

But Germany, taken as a whole, seemed a prey to dry rot. Lessing declared that Prussia was the most enslaved country in Europe; the press was not allowed to bring forward facts, though it might vent all the foolish things that could be said against religion. Berlin was a mere barrack; men and women alike were corrupt in their morals, and maintained a hard struggle upon small means; the King's example had a bad effect.<sup>2</sup> The little German Courts were dens of depravity, but they had succeeded in muzzling the press; the lesser nobility had been crushed out, having subdivided their estates among their children. The ruler of Hesse had been selling his subjects to Great Britain, that they might serve in the ranks against Washington. The great cities of the South were deeply in debt and were fast decaying; Augsburg had lost her princely merchants, and was split into Austrian and Prussian factions; Nuremberg had but a small part of her old population; Cologne could not indeed light her streets, but could boast a guild of five thousand beggars. It was much the same in the Bavarian towns. Mayence and the Palatinate were at feud. Soldiering, except in Prussia, seemed to be on the wane.<sup>3</sup> And even there soldiers were trained by the ruthless use of the lash; not thus were bred the men of Fairfax and Hoche. Pacca, afterwards the famous Cardinal, was sent as Nuncio to Cologne in 1786. He says that the abolition of the Jesuits and the innovations of Joseph II. had damaged the Church. Various books were printed in the domains of the German Catholic Princes, directed against Rome. Von Erthal, the Elector of Mayence, a dissolute Prelate, seemed to tread in the steps of the Patriarchs of Constantinople. The Elector of Treves, one of the Saxon house, was a weak Prelate, but of sound morals. Maximilian,

<sup>1</sup> Seeley, *Life of Stein*, i. 54-61. Frederick, strong in the love of Germany, might well smile at the fact that he was called in the official language of the Holy See nothing but "Il Marchese di Brandenburgo."

<sup>2</sup> See *Germany Present and Past*, by Baring-Gould, 46, 446, 467.

<sup>3</sup> Freytag, *Pictures*, second series, ii. 162-167. Thackeray gives us a lifelike picture of Germany during this Century in his *Barry Lyndon*.

brother of the Emperor, was Elector of Cologne; his predecessor had been so ignorant as to forget the imposition of hands when consecrating another Prelate.<sup>1</sup> These three Spiritual Electors, aided by their brother of Salzburg, were always up in arms to oppose the Pope; they even called a council at Ems, directed against him. The well-known Hontheim (Febronius), Suffragan Bishop of Treves, had some years earlier published his book on the Church, wishing to change it into an aristocratic republic. The Elector of Cologne was now founding the University of Bonn, which was anything but orthodox. Pacca, who strove to keep the old University of Cologne pure of heresy, was reviled as a new Hildebrand. Quarrels broke out as to Papal dispensations connected with marriage. In 1787 the Protestants obtained from the magistrates of Cologne leave to build a church in the city; but the bigoted populace, who were now beginning to discover their power, forbade it; Pacca here found himself in a most difficult position, Rome and Berlin being now allies. In 1789 the Archbishop of Mayence proposed to hold a synod in imitation of the one held by Ricci at Pistoia, but this German project was condemned by Pius VI.<sup>2</sup> Two years later Pacca saw the French emigrants come pouring into Coblenz; he describes them as a godless set, who did much harm to the Catholic religion in Germany. Soon the three Electors, and Pacca himself, had to fly from the neighbourhood of the Rhine; the Holy Roman Empire was nodding to its fall.

The Great Frederick died in 1786, just when his country had most need of him; many must have wished that he could have lived out his full fourscore years, in view of the

<sup>1</sup> I take all this from the *Memorie Storiche di Pacca, sul di lui soggiorno in Germania*. See p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 159. This old Archbishop had suppressed a monastery at Engelberg, to form an English garden, at the instigation of his mistress. Hence the lines—

Angelicum montem Naboth novus abstulit Achab,  
Anglicus ut fieret turpi pro Jezabel hortus.

The garden was soon swept away by the French; this is not the first pun made on *Angli* and *Angeli*.

boisterous times that were drawing near. He was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II., a man given to debauchery and spiritualism, while ready to wink at hypocrisy in Church matters. He had an army of two hundred thousand men, and soon found employment for it. The folly of the Emperor Joseph II. in attacking Turkey came most opportunely for Austria's deadliest foe. The hand of Prussia soon made itself felt, stirring up revolt in Flanders and Hungary; but she speedily flew at higher game. The new King allied himself with Sweden and Turkey, and seemed resolved on checking Russia in her ambitious projects. In 1790 he forced the Austrians to desist from the Turkish war. In 1791 he would have attacked Russia had not his proposed ally, Pitt, been compelled by the English Opposition to take a mild tone with respect to that power. In this year Prussia and Austria combined to put some check upon the French Revolutionists. Poland was now establishing her reformed Constitution; happy had it been for the future balance of power in Europe had Britain and Prussia at this moment joined hands to enforce the recognition by Russia of the new Polish settlement. This demand would have been far more reasonable than the turmoil raised over the Oczakow question. The Emperor Leopold, moreover, was always a good friend to Poland; he died too early in 1792, just as Russia, having made peace with the Turks, was preparing to come down with open jaws upon her Christian prey.<sup>1</sup>

The Monarchs of Europe were now perplexed with fear of change. The mighty sound of the French Revolution was heard across the Rhine about 1790. The German schoolmaster would explain the puzzling news to surrounding peasants amid thick clouds of tobacco smoke. In the Palatinate and on the Upper Rhine the people began to refuse service to their lords. In Saxony the peasants once more broke out; they thrashed the magistrates and assembled in troops of more than a thousand; when the revolt was put down they were mildly dealt with. Two

<sup>1</sup> These complicated events are well described by Creux in his *Pitt et Frederic-Guillaume II.*



years later the peasants in the Palatinate and in the Electorate of Mayence were dancing round the tree of liberty. Now it was that the men of German Alsace became attached to France by the strongest of bonds, since she freed them from all feudal shackles. Napoleon's later Rhine Confederation was a happy change, for the peasants at least.<sup>1</sup>

Prussia had guaranteed the new Polish Constitution in 1791. In the next year she was guilty of baseness seldom heard of, for she reversed her politics, and joined the Russians in restoring the infamous old anarchy, against the will of the Poles. Poison was rammed down the throat of an unwilling victim. Prussia made a feeble campaign against the French Jacobins, an undertaking which caused the utter ruin of French Royalty, but she turned her main strength against unhappy Poland. In 1794, after a noble struggle, the victim succumbed to sheer brute force, and was wiped out altogether in 1795, when Austria as well as Prussia took her share of the plunder. Warsaw now became a Prussian town. It is to be feared that part of the British money advanced by Pitt to be used against France was employed by a Royal swindler to crush the Poles. In 1795 Prussia made peace with France (the two nations ought to have made an alliance four years earlier), while Austria and Britain were left to continue the war as they best might. The realm of the Hohenzollerns seemed to be on a higher pinnacle than ever before, but Jena, the well-earned meed of political baseness, was looming in the background.

The King (a Charles II. without any wit) was a man of the loosest morals, but atoned for these by a persecuting orthodoxy; religious hypocrisy was the surest path to his favour. Honest officials, who had a scorn for Rosicrucian and Spiritualist trickery, found the Court no place for them. The great Kant was threatened with the Royal displeasure for striving to reconcile religion and reason. One edict allowed Socinian and Deist pastors to retain their preferments, provided their teaching, at least in public,

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, second series, i. 71-73.



was orthodox.<sup>1</sup> Church and State were alike tottering. But the debauched King, who had wasted the treasure left by the Great Frederick, and had run up a huge debt on his own account, made way for his son, Frederick William III., in 1797. The new Monarch was a man of painful indecision, a mere tool in the hands of bad ministers, but at the same time a great improvement upon his father; the new Queen has won all hearts, both in her own lifetime and afterwards. France was all these years gaining marvellous victories, and was breaking up the old German system, grasping at the whole of Germany that lay on the left bank of the Rhine. A new Revolution in 1802 swept away, with few exceptions, German ecclesiastical Sovereignities, municipal Sovereignities, small hereditary Sovereignities. Prussia, now once more an ally of France, profited largely in the scramble, gaining nearly half a million of souls; her share of the booty included Hildesheim, Paderborn, and a great part of Munster.<sup>2</sup> The three hundred different States which made up the old Empire were in many instances sacrificed to the greed of France and Prussia. The system that recalled Charles the Great made way for another system that heralded the comparative unity of Germany, to be achieved in 1870. In 1803 the Archbishops of Treves and Cologne lost their temporal power, and only six Imperial towns were preserved. The majority in the Diet had passed from the Catholics to the Protestants.<sup>3</sup> Later, in 1806, came Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, to last for seven years. At the same time Francis II. abdicated the title of the Holy Roman Empire, taking the brand-new title of Emperor of Austria.

Germany had been losing ground in things material when she was winning her greatest triumphs in the world of genius. While the Rhine and Danube were stained with German blood, the little Court of Weimar was welcoming its choicest inmates. Others had made ready the way, till at last came the ten great years of German poetry, when Schiller and Goethe were knit together in the warmest

<sup>1</sup> Seeley's *Life of Stein*, i. 190-195.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 119-121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 210-215.

of friendships. The national literature, though it had been held in scorn by the greatest of German Princes, at last took its rightful place in the world.

The poor wavering King of Prussia lost a grand chance in the last months of 1805, when he might have turned the scale against the French; he had the baseness to seize on Hanover, instead of playing the part that befitted him. In the next year came the thunderbolt of Jena; on the same day Davoût with twenty-five thousand French defeated almost thrice this number of Prussians in the open field, a circumstance hard to account for. May it not be that the beaten army had been to a certain extent recruited with subject Poles, men who could have had little eagerness to throw away their lives for the Berlin Court? <sup>1</sup> If my guess be right, we have here a remarkable instance of righteous retribution; the sins of fourteen infamous years had to be atoned for. The Prussian army was in a rotten state; few officers except Blucher were fit to lead. They were almost all nobles, who looked down upon the Artillery, where commoners were tolerated in command. But the German privates were staunch as ever; great was their rage at the cowardly capitulations of fortresses that took place after Jena; and indeed seldom have military leaders so disgraced themselves.<sup>2</sup> The land was soon overrun by the French, hungry for booty; Napoleon's youngest brother had his headquarters at Breslau, where he daily bathed in a cask of wine. How the young debauchee lived at Cassel afterwards is well known. Two hundred millions of thalers were wrung from Prussia by the French officials in six years. Her trade and commerce were ruined by Napoleon's Continental system; prices went up, and beggars swarmed.<sup>3</sup> The only comfort the down-trodden folk had was in the rumours of Wellington's distant victories and in the reforms of Stein, who abolished vassalage in the year after Jena, allowing peasants and burghers to buy land. Serfdom was

<sup>1</sup> So the oppressed Hungarians did not show much fight at Solferino and Sadowa. The whole story of the earlier battle should be read in Vigier's *Life of Davoût*, published in 1898; full justice is here done to Blucher.

<sup>2</sup> Freytag, *Pictures*, second series, ii. 183-186.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 206.

not to exist after 1810. On the towns was bestowed the right of electing their own magistrates, for Stein hated bureaucracy and the law's delays. He was soon exiled by the French Government, but he had done his work well. The Universities of Berlin and Breslau became nurseries of public spirit, and Napoleon found himself obliged to dissolve their sister of Halle. At last the mighty Despot marched to his ruin in the Russian snows, and then, after six years of thralldom, came the time of Prussia's uprising.

Stein and Yorck were the two men to whom Germany owes her resurrection, at a time when it was by no means sure that the Russians would follow Napoleon back beyond the Vistula.<sup>1</sup> Blucher was a comrade well worthy of the patriot pair. One of the most startling things in History is how a giant like Napoleon, with all his troops concentrated, could be beaten by a combination of the mediocre Generals of four different nations, whose interests were by no means identical. Yet Leipzig was fought, Paris was stormed, and Germany might breathe again.<sup>2</sup> In 1815 she did her full share of the work; Wellington drove the French off the field of Waterloo; but Blucher, giving a noble lesson in generalship to the world, took the severe pressure off his ally, and turned a repulse into a headlong rout, which laid France in the dust.

By the Peace of Vienna Prussia gained about half of the old kingdom of Saxony, besides a large Rhine province. These two old German Temporal Electorates had alike played a wretched part in 1630, but soon afterwards they came to stand as widely apart as light and darkness. The

<sup>1</sup> The following verses on Stein were spread far and wide—

Alles bösen eck-stein,  
Alles guten grund-stein,  
Deutscher ehre schluss-stein.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Burghersh was at the headquarters of the allies in the last months of 1813, and says, "The indecision and squabbling among all the different chiefs is incredible, and as long as they can't agree, nothing can be done." She later on had an interview with the Czar Alexander, who wished that they had had a captain like Wellington, and then they would have done better. She said she did not think it possible to have done better. "*Ah, Madame, c'est que le bon Dieu nous a servi de capitaine.*"—*Letters of Lady Burghersh*, 88, 91.

hard-working lords of Berlin had up to this time been wonderfully different from the debauchees and sluggards of Dresden, the headquarters of a dry and sapless Lutheranism. The war had shaken up all the various creeds together; all alike seemed eager to promote the circulation of the Bible. Pinkerton says in 1814: "In Hanover I saw the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Catholic clergy all joining hands in the good cause; what a blessed undertaking it is which thus brings the different sections of the Christian Church together! The head of the Catholics said to me, with a beaming countenance, 'I rejoice to have an opportunity of taking part in so glorious a cause; the Scriptures should be in the hands of all classes.'" Ministers of State and generals united with the clergy and the Princes in promoting this new spirit, which was soon to be caricatured in the Holy Alliance.<sup>1</sup>

It was a pity that Prussia could not, at the treaty of Vienna, have been made supreme over all Northern Germany, on condition of granting free institutions to the revived realm. But the Prussian King was a weak man, who thought highly of Austrian methods; he forgot all the promises of a constitution made to his brave Prussians, and the Reaction was soon in full swing. Resistance to this came almost entirely from that part of Germany which was neither Prussian nor Austrian. "Our Princes and Governments are the true Jacobins," wrote Stein; "they allow the lawless condition in which we have lived since 1806 to continue; they keep alive discontent and bitterness."<sup>2</sup>

There was a faction at Berlin, the sworn enemy of all reform, a faction for whom even the Prime Minister Hardenberg was far too advanced. All sorts of manœuvres were employed to check advancing progress. Prussia's new domains on the Rhine were peopled by Catholics, the old subjects of the three Spiritual Electorates. Yet the Berlin Government sent down Protestant strangers to preside over these districts, thus committing the same fault that Holland

<sup>1</sup> Baur, *Religious Life in Germany*, ii. 318, 319.

<sup>2</sup> Seeley, *Life of Stein*, iii. 390. See the King's promise of free institutions set out in p. 395.

was now perpetrating in Belgium. The Rhinelanders were all of one mind in favour of the French legislation, which had taken fast root among them; they repelled the system of Berlin pedants. The King, out of humour, declared in a Cabinet order that he reserved to himself the decision as to the time when he would grant the promised Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

A Commission to consider the future institutions of Prussia was named in 1821. The Crown Prince was its President, and two years later issued the law for the regulation of the Estates, delaying all constitutional progress for an indefinite period. A solemn promise to the country was thus evaded, and the Crown Prince in 1848 was bitterly to repent his evasion.<sup>2</sup> The weak King of Prussia yielded more than ever to the Federal Assembly at Frankfurt and to Metternich.<sup>3</sup> But it was plain that Germany could now no longer be ruled in the old way; the men who had listened to Arndt and Körner were very different from the peasants drilled by the lash of the Great Frederick. A dreary time was before the nation. The heroes of the late war had almost as hard a time in Germany as in Spain. The forms of law were trodden underfoot. Prussian policy was dictated from Vienna and St. Petersburg; but the universal ruin, the result of the French conquest, forced all but the sturdiest patriots to remain dumb until better times should come.<sup>4</sup> These were not to come until 1848.

But there was worse misgovernment in other parts of the land than in Prussia. Mecklenburg was the Paradise of feudalism, and even the French invasion had done nothing to disturb the old system. In this district the nobles triumphed over their Prince at the very moment when elsewhere the Prince was able to restrain the nobles. Protestantism here, it must be acknowledged, did but little for freedom; there was the strictest Lutheranism prevalent side by side with the old feudal burdens, though serfdom was abolished in 1820. The lords might still settle their

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *Nineteenth Century*, tome v. 97-101.

<sup>2</sup> Seeley, *Life of Stein*, iii. 401.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 428-430.

<sup>4</sup> Freytag, *Pictures of German Life*, second series, ii. 256-261.



peasants where it seemed good, a state of things abolished a hundred years earlier in Prussia. The lower classes were brutalised, and uttered cries of vengeance.<sup>1</sup> So late as 1838 the nobles in these parts were striving to uphold the old system.

Such a state of things was not to the taste of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, the generous patron of the foremost intellects in Germany. Disgusted with the tricksters of Vienna in 1815, he promised a Constitution to his people and spoke of equality before the law. The Constitution of the little domain was hailed with enthusiasm throughout Germany, though the greatest of all Germans then living professed little faith in the principles advocated by his host. The abolition of the immunities of the nobles was at once voted, and also an indemnity for the privileges lost. In 1817 Young Germany celebrated at the Wartburg the anniversary of the first outbreak of the Reformation, three hundred years earlier, the professors of Jena University taking the lead; various reactionary writings now shared the fate of Pope Leo's Bull. Four of the great Powers of Europe took alarm at the dangerous doings of the Grand Duke and the students.<sup>2</sup>

All this time Prussia was falling from bad to worse. The needy country nobles, who had the King's ear, denounced Stein as a Jacobin, and reproached Hardenberg in their Master's presence for wishing to change the old honest Prussia into a new-fangled Jewish State. This feudal party hated all reforms, and even restricted wholesome changes already made. The Prussian ministers, weary of strife, were soon content to follow in Metternich's wake. The censorship was established, and war was declared upon the Universities; Arndt was suspended for a score of years. In 1823 a Cabinet order abrogated trial by jury when the crime charged was political.<sup>3</sup> At the Congress of Verona the European despots denounced the efforts after freedom that had been made in the South-

<sup>1</sup> *Den Edelmann wille wi dodslagen*, said they in their Low German. See Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, tome iv. 198-205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 313-326.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* tome v. 87, 220.

West of Germany; Constitutions half democratic, it was said, had been granted with great precipitation; liberty of the press was contrary to the laws of the Diet. The Russian Czar was persuaded to rebuke the King of Wurtemberg for revolutionary principles.<sup>1</sup> Louis, the art-loving King of Bavaria, came to the throne in 1825, and at first kindled the hopes of German patriots. But soon it was found that bigoted Bavaria had little in common with enlightened North Germany. In the University Protestants were not allowed to lecture on history; a safer guide was discovered in a Professor, who divided history into two parts, one ranging from Adam to Luther, the other from Luther to the days of King Louis. The old monks and the old holidays, long abolished, were brought back. Little was spent on primary education; schoolmasters eked out their livelihood by acting as sacristans. Munich might be adorned, but all over the country buildings sorely needed were falling to ruin. Bavaria was likened to a corpse covered with a golden robe. King Louis was silly enough to publish his own poems in 1829.<sup>2</sup> His intellect may be appraised by the fact that he kept the greatest German name of the Sixteenth century out of the national Walhalla, built by him on the Danube.

As to the Protestant German intellect, it was represented in theology by Schleiermacher, who, like Chateaubriand, had worked his way from scepticism to sound views in religion. The Kings of Prussia had long sought to bring about a union between Lutheranism and Calvinism, and the present Monarch was so full of the project as in 1823 to publish a work upon it. The old notions about Consubstantiation and Predestination had by this time been much softened down. The King compiled a liturgy, to be used in the military churches. Schleiermacher presided over a synod of the Berlin clergy, at first favourable to the new scheme, though the people at large thought the work of the Royal theologian too like the Latin Mass. In 1825 the supreme Consistory was ready to force the new ritual upon

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, tome xi. 125, 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* tome xvii. 100-108.

the public. Eight millions of Protestants bowed before the will of the religious Despot, so little did they care for their creed, which they regarded chiefly as a department of State. There was to be no more mention of the historic word "Protestant," which was to be replaced by "Evangelical"; lighted candles and a crucifix were to stand on the altar. There was but little resistance to the new project except in a few Silesian villages; the convictions of the refractory peasants were changed by sending troops to live at free quarters upon those who held out; about six hundred of them, calling themselves Old Lutherans, were ruined and driven to America. The upshot of the whole business is that religion has to a great extent died away in Prussia; King Frederick William III. was the best friend that the Rationalists ever had. His plan for amalgamating churches was followed over almost all Protestant Germany except Hanover. He did not find his Catholic subjects equally amenable in his dispute with the Pope on Mixed Marriages. The Roman Church was now making many proselytes owing to the reaction from Rationalism; more than three hundred men of cultivated minds went over in 1813 and 1814.

One of those who protested against the King's religious contrivance was Schleiermacher; he had in 1821 published a work which was said to stand comparison with Calvin's *Institutes*, and which had great influence upon English and American thought. In Germany the men of Reform in politics were commonly given to Rationalism, while the men of Reaction professed themselves the champions of Pietism.<sup>1</sup> Their country could now boast of mighty names in Law and History, and she almost refounded the science of Philology. Of all the countries of Europe, learning in the Nineteenth century owes most to the land of Luther. But when from learning we turn to politics the change is startling. So late as 1818 a man in Hanover, suspected of stealing a cow, was imprisoned for eighteen months; he was then tortured with the thumbcrew until

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, tome xix. 10-25. See also Laing's *Notes on France, Prussia, etc.*, 199-227; Rose, *State of Protestantism in Germany*, 216.

his hands became fearfully swollen, and was thus driven to confess his guilt.<sup>1</sup>

In 1840 King Frederick William III., a counterpart to our own Scotch Solomon and a persecutor of Heine, was succeeded by his son, Frederick William IV., a dreamy and unpractical ruler, always looking back to the Middle Ages. He summoned a mock Assembly, which he hoped would pass for the Parliament, so long promised and denied to his subjects. No sheet of paper, he said, should stand between him and them. Not long afterwards the French Revolution of 1848 broke out, and all Germany was on fire. The King had to capitulate to the Berlin mob, which had never been prepared for freedom; hence this year is a disgraceful one for Prussia. The art-loving King of Bavaria, whose amours had disgusted his subjects, was forced to abdicate; his brother of Wurtemberg was driven to fly; Saxony was long a prey to disorder, and a civil war raged in Baden. The whole German race seemed to assail the Danes in Schleswig-Holstein, and this bloody struggle lasted for two years and a half. The German National Assembly, meeting at Frankfort, soon became the laughing-stock of Europe; it in vain offered the Imperial Crown to the Prussian King. This Monarch quailed before Austria in 1850, and henceforth allowed his own people a very slight share in the government of their country. He favoured Russia during the Crimean War, while his people rejoiced over the blows inflicted upon the old oppressor of freedom in Europe. In 1857 the King lost all mental vigour, and the government of Prussia was transferred to his brother William, who became King early in 1861, and who saw his Austrian rival gradually declining in strength. In the next year Bismarck became the leading spirit in the Prussian councils, and played the same part in Germany that Cavour had done in Italy.

The new Minister began by setting at defiance the Prussian chamber and by strengthening the Prussian army, in spite of the opposition of the greater part of the nation. He abetted the Russians to the utmost of his power in

<sup>1</sup> Laing, *Observations on Europe*, 193.



crushing the last Polish rising in 1863. In the next year Prussia and Austria seized upon Schleswig-Holstein, but soon quarrelled over the booty. Bismarck made an alliance with Italy, hoodwinked France, and in 1866 declared war upon Austria. Moltke, directing the Prussian troops, won the great victory of Sadowa over the Southern enemy, while other Prussian armies were conquering Hanover, Bavaria, and the various small States; the war was over in little more than a month. King William became supreme, and annexed much territory.

There was some discontent at first; it must be remembered that Germany, unlike Italy, had possessed no such despots as the last Kings of Naples, powerful agents to enforce unity. But the whole land sprang together with a clang when Louis Napoleon foolishly declared war in 1870. The great events of Sedan, Metz, and Paris were decided in a few months; Alsace and a part of Lorraine, the stolen goods of old, became the conqueror's prize. Early in 1871 the new German Empire (how unlike the unruly realm of Maximilian I.!) was solemnly proclaimed in the halls of Versailles, whence formerly so many cruel blows had been levelled at divided Germany. Much had been done for Freedom in Europe within a short space of time. The new Empire needed a vast army, a fearful burden on the country, but still a great school whereby the many provinces of Germany are fused into one great nation.

But religious turmoil was at hand. During the previous seventy years the Catholic Church had been much weakened in Germany. The old Prince Bishops, who had ruled for a thousand years and had done so much to baffle the Reformation, were no more. The Catholics were much hampered, especially in Baden; cut off from their old moorings, they fell by degrees under the sway of the Roman Courts. Then in 1870 came the decree of the Roman Council that the Pope was in certain cases infallible, a doctrine which many of the German Bishops at first withstood and afterwards accepted. Bismarck would not tolerate the supremacy of Rome in Germany; the Jesuits were expelled in 1872, and various other Orders later. No



priest was allowed to enter on a cure of souls who had not been educated in lay Universities, there receiving instruction very different from that of the Seminary. The State might appoint priests to a parish if the Bishop transgressed the law. The Government made the mistake of thinking that the learning of men like Dollinger would seduce the mass of German Catholics into a war against Rome. His University of Munich did in truth support him, but the German Bishops, even such a man as Hefele, meekly obeyed Rome, and turned their backs upon Strossmayer. The Old Catholics found most of their followers in the ranks of the State Officials, who had hitherto been deprived of their fair share of promotion. The new sect, though fostered by the Government, numbered little more than fifty thousand souls. The German Catholics were at first inclined to yield to most harassing restrictions, but the Jesuits at Rome ordered resistance to Bismarck's system. Priests were not to submit to the Government examinations, and Bishops were not to ordain certificated candidates. A strange state of things ensued; nearly all the sees of Northern Germany were emptied either by death or deposition; the Mass ceased to be sung in hundreds of parishes. The clergy were imprisoned and fined for the slightest breach of the rules now laid down; many of the inhabitants of Marpingen were fined for having lodged and fed pilgrims who came to behold the scene of a supposed miracle. The upshot of Bismarck's policy was that in Germany it turned Moderate Catholics into Ultramontanes, which was more than the Roman Jesuits could have done.<sup>1</sup> Before his death he saw the error of his ways, and made peace with the Pope.

We have heard of the hymns sung by many thousands of German voices at the close of the bloody day of Sedan; but this fact is by no means a safe guide as to the fervour of German Protestant feeling. Religion, owing to Luther's heedlessness, has been made a matter to be shaped according to the Princes' caprices; it has naturally therefore been cast aside by millions who have no love for Court direction. High Lutheranism is the badge of the party that worships

<sup>1</sup> *Germany Present and Past*, by Baring-Gould, 294-334.

Russia and hates England; it is most unlikely that a creed such as this should be beloved by the mass of the nation. There is little church-going in Germany; one parish in Hamburg numbers 40,000 inhabitants and needs but one church. In Berlin hardly one in fifty attends public worship on the Sunday. The statistics of the Rhineland are not more cheering. The Catholics, full of zeal, and purged from the worst Italian superstitions, stand in strong contrast to the Protestants. There is hardly any Dissent, a token of the deadness of the people to spiritual life; they believe with the head, not with the heart. The union between Lutherans and Calvinists was effected by Prussian Royalty with comparative ease, simply because the folk at large took little interest in religion. Luther's doctrine of justification arouses no enthusiasm among his sons; the clergy who follow his teaching are looked on as either fanatics or hypocrites. Spener and Francke, who required something higher for their souls than the husks of dry Lutheranism, have but few imitators in our day. Rationalism is everywhere; a dead set is made at the Apostles' Creed and at the Augsburg Confession. The Social Democrats, an increasing body, talk of leaving the Church altogether, as a protest against a mere spiritual department of the State, ruled by a Minister of public worship.<sup>1</sup>

One cheering fact in the midst of all the gloomy prospect is the strong national spirit of the German Catholic clergy.<sup>2</sup> They associate on the most friendly terms with their Protestant brethren, and in this Germany, happily for herself, resembles Hungary rather than France or Ireland. The services of the two creeds are sometimes held in one and the same church. In one respect German Protestantism falls far behind her old enemy in the respect paid to the ties of wedlock. Divorce, it is true, is not nearly so frequent in Germany as among the Saxons of Transylvania, or the Danes, or the Swiss Protestants. Still it seems to be made rather too easy, just as the annulling of marriages was at Venice and Warsaw in the Eighteenth century. The

<sup>1</sup> Baring-Gould, *Germany Past and Present*, 335-375.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 303.

system of morganatic unions, when nobles wed girls of lower rank, entails most curious consequences upon the luckless offspring. The restriction of the births of children prevails widely among German Protestants, though not to the extent that it does in France. The statistics of illegitimacy show a far higher rate among the Protestants than among the Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

It was not against the Ultramontanes alone that Bismarck waged war; he held in check Socialism from 1878 to 1890 by stringent repressive laws. But this subjugation of millions to a harsh police proved a dismal failure. In vain were books and pamphlets confiscated by hundreds; bales of obnoxious literature were smuggled into Germany from France and Switzerland. In the end the Socialists tripled their numbers at the polls; under their banner one-fifth of the whole country seemed to enlist. In 1890 the laws that had so harassed Bismarck's enemies were allowed to die. The result is that millions of Germans, the strongest party in the Empire, bear a bitter hate to Christianity in any shape.<sup>2</sup>

Who can wonder at myriads being lost to this creed if we regard the attitude of their rulers? The Emperor William II. had many virtues, but he maintained for years as his Court Chaplain a man named Stöcker, whose one occupation in life seemed to be to stir up Christian hatred against a small Jewish minority. This Protestant in the matter of toleration fell far below many of the Popes. The noble Emperor Frederick denounced the movement as a disgrace to Germany; insults and outrages directed against the hated sect were of constant occurrence.<sup>3</sup> This disgraceful uproar seems now to have cooled down,

<sup>1</sup> As to this compare Connaught with certain districts in Protestant Scotland. I have taken most of the last paragraph from Baring-Gould.

<sup>2</sup> Dawson, *Germany and the Germans*, ii. 179-207.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 134-158. Mr. Dawson, who has written a really valuable book on Germany, seems to think that Stöcker ought to be excused because he is sincere. Just the same plea might be made for his most obvious forerunner, Lord George Gordon, or indeed for Torquemada. But neither of these two last worthies lived in an age of railways and telegraphs. It is useful to call attention now and then to the perversity of the human intellect even in men from whom better things might have been expected.

but the cause of Christianity must have been much injured.

Here we take leave of that mighty State, of which we English are flesh and bone ; of that nursery of statesmen, heroes, reformers, and inventors, men that have influenced the whole world. Twice has she attained, or almost attained, unity ; once under the great Charles, once under Kaiser William II. ; long may she flourish in the middle of Europe, ever increasing in population, a barrier against the cravings of French anarchy on the one hand, of Russian despotism on the other, while she looks back with triumph to such masterpieces in the art of war as Leuthen and Vionville.

## CHAPTER IV

### SWEDEN <sup>1</sup>

Struggle with Rome	. . . .	1518-1599
The Warrior Kings .	. . . .	1599-1718
Loss of old Provinces	. . . .	1718-1809
Peace for many Years	. . . .	1809-1902

THE history of Sweden is for centuries a record of internal jars and of wars with Denmark. The three Scandinavian realms were for a moment united under Queen Margaret in 1397, but Sweden soon placed herself under rulers of her own, men not of Royal blood; while Denmark, mistress of Norway, called to her own throne the long-lived house of Oldenburg. The Swedes had in early days been able to annex Finland, and had founded the University of Upsala in 1477. The state of the Church was no better here than in other lands; we read of a Bishop being poisoned because he had denounced the crimes of the priesthood; and St. Bridget, the great Swedish Saint, likens some of the monasteries (there were about sixty of them) to houses of ill fame.<sup>2</sup> The Bishops were most wealthy and fond of pomp; the traffic in Indulgences went merrily forward. The land stood in sore need of reformation.

The Archbishop of Trollé, much hated by the patriot party, was able to interest Rome in Swedish affairs; in 1518 the kingdom was placed under an interdict, which

<sup>1</sup> I follow Geijer in my account of Sweden; his history has been translated by Turner. I have also consulted Fryxell, translated by Mrs. Howitt.

<sup>2</sup> See Geijer's chapter on the state of the people; it follows the year 1520.



was lightly regarded. Christian II. of Denmark, at the head of a huge mercenary army, undertook to execute the sentence; in 1520 he, the Pope's appointed champion, overthrew his rival, the Swedish patriot leader, and was crowned in Stockholm. Soon he broke his pledged word, put to death in cold blood more than six hundred of the best men in Sweden, bishops, monks, nobles, burghers, and handicraftsmen. The victims, some of whom underwent torture, were denounced as heretics under the ban of the Church. Their avenger stood forth in the person of Gustavus Ericson, known by the name of Vasa, the first of a renowned dynasty, a youth who took for his device "God and Sweden's commonwealth." He sought refuge from the Nero of the North among the peasants of Dalecarlia; here in lowly guise he long plied axe and flail, and thus escaped the doom of his murdered parents. He harangued the villagers, sixteen of whom were appointed to be his bodyguard. He soon gained power over the local mines, and could muster fifteen hundred followers; a saying went round that God had preserved Gustavus "as a drop of the knightly blood of Sweden." He won a battle at Westeras over Slagheck, King Christian's lieutenant, a man who had been the chief instigator of the Stockholm blood bath, and who had been rewarded with the mitre of Skara; thousands now joined the revolt. In 1521 began the siege of Stockholm, which was to last two years, for the town lay open to the relieving Danish fleet. Many castles throughout the land had to be blockaded and taken; the career of Gustavus much resembles that of Bruce, though there was in the later case no brilliant victory; both patriot Kings found somewhat of an obstacle in the Church. Most of the Swedish nobles now declared for Gustavus, and swore fealty to him as Administrator of the realm. In 1522 he lost his mother and two sisters, who died in the Danish tyrant's dungeons; Abo in Finland beheld a new massacre. The burghers of Lubeck came to the help of Sweden, and bore their part in causing the surrender of Stockholm in 1523. King Christian at last fled from his Danish kingdom, which he had disgusted by his despotic

projects ; he was a strange compound, now professing himself the champion of Rome, now corresponding with Luther ; sometimes overriding the law, sometimes lightening the bonds of the peasantry ; he made his adviser Slagheck Archbishop of Lund, and afterwards burnt him, in the presence of the Papal Legate, as the contriver of the great massacre. The deposed King lived for some years in the Netherlands, ready for another clutch at empire.

Gustavus, now chosen King, had subdued all Sweden and Finland before the end of 1523 ; he found hardly one-fourth of the townsmen of Stockholm still surviving ; the nobles of the realm were much inclined to partition Sweden among themselves, and the peasants had no scruple in rebelling against the Crown. The Church was thoroughly corrupt, and complained bitterly of the attacks of Lutheran heretics even before the election of Gustavus as King. Archbishop Trollé had long been denounced as a partisan of Denmark, but the leading man among the Swedish clergy was Bishop Brask, who combined the unbending firmness of Fisher with the clever shrewdness of Gardiner. Brask, whom all eyes watched, had obtained a brief from Pope Adrian VI. for the extirpation of heresy in Sweden ; he further demanded the establishment of inquisitors in all the sees and the prohibition of Luther's writings. King Gustavus, on the other hand, thought it right that the opinions of each school of religion should be set before men's eyes. In 1526 he went still further, for he forbade Brask to publish the letters of the Pope and others against Luther, and the Bishop's printing-press was suppressed. The chief champions of the German Reformer in Sweden were Olave and Laurence Peterson, men who had studied at Wittenberg, and had spread the new opinions in Sweden so early as 1519 ; the one was a bold preacher, the other a learned author, both alike hateful to Bishop Brask. The King caused a disputation to be held at Upsala upon twelve theological questions of great moment at this time ; a Lutheran was now made chancellor. Money was sorely needed, especially to pay off the overbearing burghers of Lubeck for their help ; the monasteries were heavily taxed

for the common weal, and soldiers were quartered upon them, while the Roman Legate remonstrated in vain, and even Brask was forced to pay. Bad money, famine, and the plague became the curses of the nation; here the priests saw the finger of Heaven. In 1524 Anabaptist preachers, one of whom was Knipperdolling, bred riots in Stockholm. Gustavus was sometimes obliged to rebuke the Lutheran preachers, who caused scandal. He declared to the folk that he meant not to bring in a new creed, but only to correct abuses, and to reclaim Crown property from the hands of the clergy.

Bishop Brask, the shrewdest of all Swedish subjects, writes that "with us the humours of the common folk are wont lightly to change"; and of this Gustavus soon had proof. A Bishop was elected by the faithful Dalecarlians, a man who at once plunged into sedition and stirred up these men of the Dales. They wrote an insolent letter to the King, and protested against his taxation. The newly elected Archbishop, who had replaced the infamous Trollé, aided in the rebellion. The two Prelates fled to Norway, but were handed over to Gustavus, who, in 1526, put them both to death after a trial by the Council; they were first paraded round Stockholm clad in tattered vestments.

The King was by slow degrees making his power felt. He told another Archbishop, "Thy grace and our grace have not room beneath one roof." This Prelate left the kingdom in 1526, to be followed much later by Bishop Brask, the real leader of the Reaction. In 1525 priests were beginning to take wives, and the Latin Mass was abolished in the capital. Gustavus himself, on horseback, harangued the people on the uselessness of the old service and of the monastic life; in this year the King gave the Swedish New Testament to his subjects, and the Reformation afterwards went on at full speed. He was leaning on the nobles, to whom he held up the glittering bait of Church spoils; he began to confiscate these on his own account, appointing and deposing priests by his own authority.

The Dalecarlians were again in revolt; what their

temper was is shown by the fact that they wished all who ate flesh on Friday to be burnt alive. But the King, persevering in his course, held the momentous Diet of Westeras (it lasted but eight days) early in 1527. Hither came Brask and three other Bishops, one of whom, Magnuson, had just been consecrated at Rome by the King's request. There were also present fifteen Lords of the Council, a hundred and twenty-nine well-armed nobles, besides many burghers, peasants, and miners; they came from all the provinces except Dalecarlia and Finland. Gustavus began by placing the Bishops (it was against old usage) below the Councillors. The Chancellor read a long statement, reflecting on the vast revenues of the clergy, and quoting a remark of Archbishop Trollé, who said that he had received from Rome a sharp sword, and that he would wield other weapons than a wax candle; this had been said to the Temporal Lord of Sweden. The present King was ready to abdicate if called upon; but some remedy must be found for the beggarly estate of the realm, where all seemed going to wreck. Bishop Brask avowed that without Papal sanction he could consent to no alteration of doctrine, and to no diminution of the Church revenues. The King at once proposed to abdicate, burst into tears, and left the hall.

Next day the barons seemed to be undecided, but the commons were more resolute on the King's side. One Bishop, Sommar, was thanked for a speech in which he threw over Church interests. Two champions of the rival creeds disputed for a whole day on the religious question. The peasants and burghers in the end won the victory, and thrice requested Gustavus to remain at the helm. On the fourth day he returned, and the common folk were almost ready to kiss his feet. All his demands were granted; the Bishops, who from this time were no longer called to the Council, made no opposition. The King was allowed to take into his own hands the castles of the Prelates, to fix their revenues, to regulate the monasteries, and to remove unfit clergymen. The nobles were permitted to resume their hereditary property, if it had been wrongfully granted

to the Church. Preachers were allowed to proclaim the Gospel instead of uncertain fables; it was to be read in all schools. Gustavus at once demanded certain castles from the Bishops; Brask alone held out, for whose obedience eight Lords of the Council stood sureties; he shortly had to fly the realm.

Gustavus in 1528 celebrated his coronation, and marched an army into Dalecarlia, where he put to death the leaders of the late revolt, men who were strong on the Pope's side. The Convents were now emptied, and their revenues went to maintain the army; many monks wedded nuns, which caused much scandal. Olave Peterson allowed many of the old ceremonies to be retained, whereby he incurred the wrath of the German strangers. Scripture was ordered to be read daily in the Cathedral, and learned men were appointed ministers in the towns; these were sometimes driven away and stoned by the populace.

A new revolt broke out in 1529. Thuré Jenson was the greatest of all the Swedish nobles, and called himself "the head of the West Goths"; he was not to be won over by Royalty. The Smalanders rose, denouncing "the cruel King and his Lutheran faction." But Gustavus wheedled them into obedience, promising that two convents should be preserved. Other provinces exhorted the rebels to peace. Thuré Jenson in vain harangued the West Goths in favour of choosing a new King, and the Bishop of Skara in vain promised them Papal absolution from their oaths. The sturdy yeomen declared that change seldom did any good. The noble ringleaders of the movement had to fly across the border; two other nobles were tried by the Council and put to death.

In 1530, at a Diet held in Upsala, it was enacted that one bell should be taken from every town church in the realm, in order to pay off the debt to Lubeck; the same requisition was made on the country churches next year; all the money and plate yet remaining in the church coffers that could be spared was likewise seized. The Dalecarlians, angry at this new impost, rose once more, and held a rebellious Diet in 1531; they declared that the King him-



self should never come into their country without their leave. Gustavus, expert at the soft answer, named one of the chief rebels to be Governor of Dalecarlia. A danger from outside was now threatening. The blood-stained Christian had for years been living in Holland, with Archbishop Trollé and others, men who kept up a correspondence with Bishop Brask. They collected an army and landed in Norway, professing the Pope's creed. The Swedish rebels would not join the movement; hence Thoré Jenson was slain by Christian for inspiring false hopes. The actual Kings of Sweden and Denmark made a league for mutual defence, and the tyrant was soon in the hands of his enemies; his imprisonment lasted for seventeen years, and in his case madness preceded death.

In 1533 Gustavus once more took the Dalecarlians in hand, marching into their country at the head of an army. He addressed a sharp rebuke to the peasants and miners, who listened on their knees; five of the ringleaders of the late revolt were at once put to death; three others died at Stockholm; among these last was a yeoman, in whose barn the King had once threshed. Thus ended the third and last rising of the Dalecarlians against Gustavus. In the next year Lubeck showed itself most hostile to both Sweden and Denmark, whence a fast alliance was formed between the two countries; they won a victory on the sea, slew Archbishop Trollé, and took Copenhagen after a year's siege; in 1536 Lubeck, never again to attain its old power, had to make peace. A plot of German burghers to murder Gustavus came to light; Olave Peterson was accused of not having revealed the treason, which he knew through the confessional; his case, punished by a heavy fine, was heard by his own brother Laurence, appointed in 1531, the first Lutheran Archbishop; the brothers, to whom the Swedish language owes much, were the last churchmen to hold the office of High Chancellor.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1536 saw the Danish Bishops deprived of their old power, the King and the nobles having combined

<sup>1</sup> This Archbishop enraged the King by rebuking him from the pulpit for his trick of swearing.—Fryxel.

against them; much church property was transferred, and Lutheranism was established in Denmark. Meanwhile Gustavus thought that his own Reformation was going too fast; he rebuked Laurence Peterson for hasty alterations in old usages. "Men should first learn," wrote he, "and then reform; you shall be preachers but not lords; the Bishops shall never recover the sword." The King seemed disposed at one time to abolish Episcopacy altogether in favour of Presbyterianism; a friend of Melanchthon's was made superintendent over the whole clerical order; the sees underwent visitation, and the King laid hold of the plate left in the churches, furnishing to each church in return a copy of the Swedish Bible, which was completely translated in 1541. He went on to subdivide the bishoprics. The peasantry clung to the old Church; "Ye would wish to be better scholars than we," wrote the King; "ye hold fast by the abuses of the Papists; attend to your houses and fields, but set no bounds to us in government and religion."

He had also to keep the nobles in check; in 1538 he forbade them to seize on the goods of the Church at their own pleasure. "All are willing," wrote he, "to strip Convents, and after such a fashion every man is a Christian and evangelical." In 1537 the peasants of Smaland talked of rooting out their lords altogether; and five years later revolt was general in that province; ten thousand men took the field. Married priests saw their houses plundered, and the nobles were ruined. The peasants avowed that they wished to build up Christianity and to abolish the Swedish Mass. Old priests took the lead in the revolt, but the King's oppressive bailiffs were one cause of the uproar. The great Charles V. himself was writing letters to the rebels, much as he wrote to the revolted Irish. But the rising was put down in 1543, partly by the help of the Dalecarlians; and henceforward there was rest in the land.

In 1540 Gustavus assembled a council of prelates and peers, and induced them to acknowledge his sons as the lawful heirs of his kingdom. In 1547 not only bishops, but pastors represented the clergy in the Diet; the King

made most Lutheran harangues, and must now have been revered, not only as political Liberator and religious Reformer, but as the stem of a future line of Princes. He sequestered the Episcopal estates, and paid the Bishops out of the tithes, which had been vested in the Crown; a few old nuns, maintained by him, were still left. Archbishop Peterson kept at his own cost fifty students at Upsala; the inferior clergy received one-third of the old tithes. Seldom has a new creed been established with so little persecution as in Sweden; there were many executions for politics, none for religion.<sup>1</sup>

Gustavus laid claim to all tracts of ground that were unoccupied; these, he said, belonged to God, the King, and the Crown of Sweden; he further claimed the water-mills, salmon fisheries, and the herring fisheries in the Baltic. He deduced his power from both God and the people. The weak point in his character was faithlessness; thus he tells his lieutenants in the Smaland rising to deal artfully with the rogues, and promise them everything, even if it were not possible to keep what was promised. Gustavus was unscrupulous in seizing on manors that suited him. He found his Thomas Cromwell in a Netherlandish jurist named Pyhy, who became Lord Chancellor, and was never weary of bringing forward "the high and Royal power, authority, and perfection." He it was who framed the oath of hereditary succession, for which the Swedish nobles never forgave him. He introduced police, and demanded passports from foreigners, most unpopular measures. He was overthrown in 1543, was charged with bigamy and embezzlement, and ended life in prison.

If the King was unscrupulous in gathering money from all quarters, he spent it most freely in the service of the State. He was the founder of the Swedish financial system, and, moreover, was a great owner of mines, bred cattle, and traded; he was proud of the universal peace that he at last bestowed upon the land. The last twenty years of his reign were long regarded as a golden age. He got much

<sup>1</sup> Some of the old priests were most ignorant; one declared that we had nothing to do with the Old Testament, since it had been lost in Noah's flood.

silver, copper, and iron from the mines, and here availed himself of the services of German immigrants; he was most interested in the forging of bar iron, and to him Sweden owes the introduction of saw-mills. The ships of his country now began to make voyages in the Atlantic. He made a defensive alliance with Francis I. in 1542, stipulating for commercial privileges; this alliance between France and the Northern heretics was to last for centuries, though not always to the benefit of both parties. Gustavus further made trading conventions with England, the Netherlands, and Russia; Sweden was able to occupy sixty-two ships in foreign commerce. He brought over Venetian shipbuilders, who soon improved the skill of the Finns and others in this art; the Swedish navy was now created; one ship was manned by a thousand soldiers and three hundred seamen. Roads were improved, with a view to the marching of armies. An alliance with Scotland led to the enlistment of thousands of Scotch in the Swedish service.

Gustavus insisted much on the need of schools, without which he thought that Christianity could not be maintained; he supported many of his subjects at the German Universities. The clergy were most ignorant; their way of embracing the Reformation often consisted in marrying their housekeepers, and thus legitimating their previous offspring. The King was most strict in his own morals; he was therefore shocked at the prevailing license, and even punished adultery by death; he reprov'd certain subjects of his who, living on the borders of the realm, married one wife after another, as they would change their horses.

Gustavus was sometimes irritated by the conduct of Denmark, which still persisted in keeping in its scutcheon the Swedish arms; he himself remarked that the man who would scratch the Three Crowns out of the arms of Denmark must have sharp teeth and claws. He set forth in a metrical tract the Danish oppressions to which he had been witness in his youth, a poem mostly taken down from his own mouth. He protected the Lapps from his other subjects, and strove to spread Christianity in the barbarous North. He gave the Bible and Prayer-book to the Finns

after it had been translated by one of themselves, a scholar of Luther and Melanchthon. There were always disputes on the Russian border, and in 1554 a war broke out, in which the Russians swept off crowds of Finnish captives; Livonia was soon to become a bone of contention for 160 years between three great Powers.

The last years of Gustavus were disturbed by the loss of his beloved Queen and by the wayward freaks of his two eldest sons; the old Monarch was sometimes seen to weep bitter tears over their misconduct, which he rebuked by many quotations from Scripture. The young rebels did their best to start a fresh war on their own account. It was no wonder that Queen Elizabeth, just promoted to the Crown, wrote to her brother Gustavus rejecting a Swedish marriage. In June 1560 the King held his last Diet. He reminded his subjects of the past. "What manner of man was I, to set myself against the Lord of three kingdoms, who was befriended by that mighty Emperor Charles V.? It was the doing of God, just as He raised David from a shepherd to be King. Blessings have come to me and my people through the true knowledge of God's word, from which may they never depart' Many have thought me a hard ruler, but the time is at hand when they will gladly pluck me out of the earth." Not long after this he died, angrily refusing to confess his sins to a priest, though he took the Sacrament and made a profession of his belief.

Thus passed away the Founder of the Protestant faith in Sweden, a King who may be described as a much-improved counterpart to Henry VIII.; we know that the younger Monarch wasted little of the vast revenues that fell into his hands, and had a very high esteem for Luther. Gustavus, however, provoked the wrath of his Prelates by marrying the niece of his second wife. His career did not abound in brilliant feats, but was one long movement on towards a worthy goal. He was fond of company, dancing, and fencing, and was a judge of music and painting; his memory for both faces and facts was astonishing. His great fault, as must be once more repeated, was faithlessness, and this was chiefly shown towards his own subjects. From his



time dates that curious triangular alliance whereby France was able for ages to call both Sweden and Turkey to her aid, two Powers that were to reach their greatest height in the next Century ere they both fell before the Eastern giant.

Gustavus left four sons, three of whom, Eric, John, and Charles, were in turn to succeed him. The younger children held dukedoms; Eric, a man of many accomplishments but of ill-balanced mind, wore his father's crown. He began by adding to the number of the Swedish nobles and increasing their powers; he attempted to found a perpetual supreme Court, the members of which were to make circuits through the land and do justice. Superfluous fast days and sundry Eucharistical ceremonies were now abolished; Sweden was thrown open as an asylum to all oppressed Protestants; industrious Walloons, flying from Alva, erected many forges for iron; their language and religion remained for a hundred years.<sup>1</sup> Calvin himself wrote a letter of congratulation to King Eric upon hearing of the proposed match with Queen Elizabeth. This was never effected, but Eric was always courting various foreign ladies and involving himself in vast expenses.<sup>2</sup>

He soon quarrelled with his brother John, Duke of Finland, over the Esthonian war; John was besieged in Abo, brought to Sweden, and imprisoned for four years, while his servants were hung or broken on the wheel. The King had little love for his nobles, but put his trust in low-born favourites, who fostered his jealous suspicions; he saw treason in the most trivial actions. The Swedish navy gained great honour in a war with Denmark, which lasted seven years; by land Eric, who employed French generals, was not equally successful, though he was guilty of much cruelty, and some provinces seemed to be unpeopled. In 1566 he began to persecute the Sturé family, a house that had ruled Sweden for many years in the previous Century,

<sup>1</sup> See Molesworth's account of Sweden, 264.

<sup>2</sup> Eric and Elizabeth would have been a most proper match as regards dress; the King ordered more than a hundred suits of costly raiment for himself when the English marriage was in hand.

when the Vasas were little heard of. In 1567 he allured to his Court many of the highest nobles, whom he soon imprisoned on very slight evidence of treason. One he stabbed with his own hand, and the others were put to death by his order. The King, out of his mind, went roaming about the woods, and soon afterwards gave manifold tokens of remorse for his late crime; he himself calls this period "the time of his infirmity." He now set free his brother John, falling at his feet, and wishing to dispute with him on religion.

Meanwhile Denmark and Poland were defeating the Swedish armies; Eric bought Russian aid by shamelessly engaging to hand over his brother's Polish bride to the monster Ivan the Terrible. In 1568 the King's two younger brothers headed a revolt, and were soon able to make Eric their prisoner; his hated minister was racked and put to a cruel death. Next year the Monarch was tried by the Estates of the realm, and was by them doomed to be imprisoned for life. Six years later many of the nobles and clergy signed a document suggesting that he should be made away with, and in 1577 he was poisoned in his prison by his brother's order.

King John came to the Crown in 1569; his first care was to reverse the judgment passed on the Swedish lords, put to death by his mad elder brother; he bestowed new rights upon the survivors, thus reversing the policy of Eric, who had been styled "a peasant King and a right foe to gentry." Now none but nobles were to hold the judicial office, and Eric's supreme Court was swept away; nobles were to be tried by their peers alone. On the other hand, they agreed that Sweden should henceforth be a hereditary monarchy. Soon the Czar was demanding Livonia, which he overran, perpetrating the most fiendish cruelties. Little resistance was at first made, as the Scotch and German soldiers in the Swedish service attacked each other. But De la Gardié, one of the French strangers so beloved by Eric, drove back the Russians, and in this he was aided by some of the renowned Horn family. Later, in 1582, the Poles demanded Livonia; they elected King John's son

Sigismund as their King, on the understanding that the whole of Livonia should belong to Poland; most unhappily for the latter country the Swedish Prince was chosen King in 1587, postponing the question at issue.

John was a learned Monarch, and loved to dabble in theology; his favourite divine was Cassander, a great mediator between the two religions that now divided Western Europe. John had been much influenced by his Polish Queen, Catherine Jagellonica, and had asked for the presence of some learned Jesuits. Already, in 1572 Cardinal Hosius was writing, full of hope for the King's conversion; if the Mass were restored Rome might grant the Cup to the laity. Five years later the conversion was supposed to have taken place; two Jesuits from Louvain, one a Norwegian, were at work in Stockholm. Hosius gave good advice as to what the preacher was to set forth. "Let him avoid offence; let him extol faith to Heaven and depreciate works without faith, preaching Christ as the only mediator and His cross as the only means of salvation; then let the preacher show that the Papacy has taught nothing else." Hosius thought that all methods against heretics were lawful; a King was not bound to observe his oath if it had been pledged to mis-believers.

The Swedish Church was now in as great disorder as that of England. Many criminals installed themselves in the pulpits; some of the clergy took to trade, and let the sacred buildings fall to ruin; they used clay vessels for the Sacrament; the nobles had seized almost all the Church revenues; many of the people still thought themselves Catholics. A Church ordinance, drawn up by Laurence Peterson, the first Lutheran Archbishop, was put forth in 1571. From this it seems that a priest was not instituted until he had received a call from the parish; he was then examined and ordained by the Bishop; Latin was most requisite. The people were to be instructed in the Catechism, and none were to be admitted to confession who did not know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments. A book of Homilies was set forth for the use

of the clergy, who were most ignorant. The title of Bishop now once more came into fashion.

A new and compliant Archbishop was installed in 1573, who advocated many of the distinctive Roman doctrines; the mitre and crozier were now brought in, and were never dropped later. In 1576 the Jesuits arrived, and pretended to be sound Lutherans; they held most artful disputations before the Stockholm ministers, and even winked at crime, if only conversions were made. Their worst enemy was a Rector of the school, named Angermannus. Pope Gregory XIII., to his honour, rebuked the hypocrisy of the Jesuits, and exhorted John to be open in his profession of the true faith; the King had asked that the invocations of Saints and prayers for the dead should be read inaudibly, at least at first.

The service was a mixture of Latin and Swedish forms; King John's Liturgy appeared in 1576, with a preface by the Archbishop; only one of the other Bishops, formerly the Court preacher, could be brought to sanction the novelty. This must be approved by any cleric who should seek preferment; some of the Lutherans remonstrated so loudly that they were removed from the Diet of 1577.

John sent to Rome, requesting prayers throughout the whole world for the restoration of the true faith in the North, though Sweden was not to be mentioned; he asked that the teachers in the Stockholm College might be exempted from wearing monkish apparel; that Protestants might rest in their graves undisturbed; that the King might as yet frequent heretical worship; that concessions might be made as to the vulgar tongue, the Cup, and priestly celibacy. Some convents had been already restored, and many sons of the nobles had been sent abroad for their education. Rome was indisposed to grant the King's terms, but sent the Jesuit Possevin to Sweden, who is said to have received John into the Church in 1578; one Bishop was stripped of his robes in his own cathedral for having called the Pope Antichrist. All passages against the Roman Bishop in the Psalms were expunged; Luther's Catechism was abolished; an abridgment of the Canon law was drawn



up, and silver shrines were set up in the churches. The Archbishopric was kept vacant for four years; disguised Jesuits prowled about the realm; the Council proposed to prevent them "from barking and banning in the Swedish tongue."

Queen Catherine died in 1583, and afterwards her husband's zeal began to wax cold. Possevin had mediated a peace in the North, but by this the Polish claims to the Swedish part of Livonia were confirmed. John was soon persecuting his old favourites; the Jesuits were banished; all their converts were threatened with exile. But he could not give up his Liturgy, which he enforced under heavy penalties; he once trampled under his feet a recusant priest, so as to rupture the man.

All this time King John and his brother Charles were drifting further and further apart, while the nobles complained of their losses in the last sixty years; thus they had no longer kingly rights over their peasants. Charles forbade the use in Finland of the King's new Liturgy, called the Red Book; he protected the sturdy Protestants, who were driven from Sweden; at his own cost he sent Angermannus to Germany, where the cleric published his controversial writings. In 1587 the brothers almost came to blows; John styled the Finnish clergy unlearned smatterers, ass-heads, Satanists, and Devil's mates; and he went on to outlaw them. He married again, taking a subject of his own, who favoured the Protestant cause. In this year the nobles procured the enactment of a statute in favour of their privileges; the Council was to propose the chief officers of the realm, men afterwards to be nominated by the King. This was called "the Sevenmen's Government," after the German pattern; John now suspected the nobles of wishing to get rid of the dynasty altogether; he was requested by them to desist from violence both in his writings and in his actions.

Charles was meanwhile improving his province and paying heed to education, while his brother was debasing the coinage and wasting much money on architecture, which caused remonstrances to be made by the Council. He



further kept an enormous household, a heavy burden to the land. In 1589 he had an interview with his son, King Sigismund, at Revel, where the Swedes and Poles quarrelled fiercely. Complaints once more came from the Swedish Council as to the grinding taxation and the famine in the land; fields were now making way for forests. But John declared that he would reign as an absolute King. A new Russian war broke out in 1590, and Horn by heroic efforts forced the Czar to withdraw from Esthonia; the Swede's reward was to be thrown into prison and to narrowly escape death. The jealous tyrant John died in 1592, declaring that if Heaven should prolong his life, he would never again constrain any man in matters of faith, as his Liturgy had given so much scandal. A few months later this Liturgy survived in only one chapel.

John's son, Sigismund, already throned at Warsaw, was now the undoubted heir to the Swedish crown. He was a zealous friend to the Jesuits; his sire had in vain besought him to beware of these fathers, who kept one foot in the pulpit and the other in the Council room. But his uncle, Duke Charles, had been at the head of the Swedish Government for the last two years, and had set free all men imprisoned for religion or politics. He now demanded a general Diet, reminding the Council "that religion and freedom were his father's good deeds to the land." The Synod was opened at Upsala in 1593, an epoch-making date in Sweden. There were present Duke Charles, four bishops, three hundred clergy, and many nobles, burghers, and peasants; every part of the realm, except Finland, was represented. The Synod was held at Upsala, as a homage to the steadfastness of that University in the late struggle for sound Protestantism. The members agreed that Scripture, explained by itself, was the only ground of faith. They gave their assent to all the articles of the Augsburg Confession; "we will put to hazard," said they, "all that we have, whether life or goods." A Bishop answered, "Now is Sweden become one man, and all of us have one God." Luther's Catechism and Laurence Peterson's Manual were once more established as text-books. All, clergy and laity

alike, renounced the Red Book. There was now an end of the late cabals that had been so disastrous; no longer were ministers of vicious life forced upon the churches. The Synod was not quite Protestant enough for Duke Charles, who objected to certain Roman ceremonies, still retained. He was suspected of a leaning to Calvinism, like his brother Eric; hence the assembly expressly declared that Zwinglians and Calvinists were heretics. The Synod of Upsala established Lutheranism on an unshaken foundation; henceforth Rome had no chance in the North. The King of France had long before asked for the Swedish alliance, and had proposed a general Protestant league.

The presence of King Sigismund in Sweden was at length requested, however erroneous his views on religion might be. He had already done much for his creed in Poland; he now set sail for the North, attended by Malaspina, the Papal Nuncio, and furnished with twenty thousand crowns by the Pope. "Now," wrote Clement VIII., "is a grand opportunity; the Archbishopric of Upsala is happily still vacant; a Jesuit's College may perhaps be established at Stockholm; at any rate young Swedes may be taught the true faith in Poland." The Nuncio reckoned upon certain Catholics still lingering in Sweden; these might bring forward grievances against the Protestants, and the King might act as judge between them.<sup>1</sup> But Sigismund found that he was powerless; Angermannus, the most violent of Lutherans, had just been made Archbishop by an overwhelming majority of votes. The new King would not confirm either the Acts of the Synod (which were forbidden to be printed) or the choice of the Archbishop. The ministers of the two creeds preached against each other. The King in vain tried to obtain a Church for the Catholics; he seldom saw the Swedish Council, and would not receive the deputies of the clergy. On the other hand, the Papal Legate was thrust out of the funeral procession for the late King. The peasants already talked of offering the crown to Sigismund's uncle, while the other side plotted the murder of that uncle.

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke, *History of the Popes*, book vii. chap. ii.

The Estates vowed to uphold the acts of the Synod; no Catholic should henceforth fill any office in Sweden, no Catholic service should be tolerated, except in the King's chapel. If Sigismund would not confirm these enactments, they would refuse him their homage. The Jesuits, when consulted, took a bolder line than Malaspina, for they averred that, in consideration of necessity, he might grant the heretics their demand. This he did; but the Nuncio caused the King to sign a protest, declaring that the concessions had been granted against the Royal will. Sigismund allowed himself to be crowned by a Protestant Bishop, not Angermannus; the King dropped his hand when taking the oath, and Duke Charles reminded him to keep the hand upright.

Sigismund thought that his best chance lay in creating confusion throughout the land; he therefore threw himself into the arms of the Swedish nobles, and appointed them rulers of the various provinces. The Chancellor, Eric Sparré, stood at the head of his brethren, and declared that unbounded power was contrary to God's word, and was against reason and the law of Sweden. The privileges of the nobles were increased, though Duke Charles remonstrated. The Council put forth a scheme of government of its own. Brawls were frequent, and the Polish strangers were most unruly; they were balanced by a levy of Dalecarlian peasants. The King left for Poland in the summer of 1594, leaving anarchy behind him; his chief friend was Fleming, a most unpopular nobleman, who was now made governor of Finland. In the midst of all this anarchy the great Gustavus Adolphus was born, who was to turn out the most complete contrast to his kinsman, King Sigismund, that can be imagined. Sweden and Poland were to have widely different destinies, thanks to these two cousins.

In honour of his son's birth, Charles restored the University of Upsala, by no means to the joy of the fretful Sigismund; the schoolmaster was becoming a power in the land, and Charles was always a steady patron of sound learning. Fleming was now driving Finland into revolt by his cruelties. Charles, against the will both of his

nephew and of the Council, summoned a Diet in 1596, throwing himself upon the common folk. The greater part of the assembly swore to obey Charles, though there were many refusals. The letter of the Council to King Sigismund abroad remained six weeks without answer, his secretaries thinking that anything was good enough for heretics. The Diet was most Protestant, forbidding Catholic worship, and suppressing the Convent of Wadstena, the oldest and most renowned in Sweden. The land was thoroughly purged; Angermannus went round the country, attended by several young students; these flogged all who refused to come to the Lutheran Church. The altars were pulled down, and the ceremonies, which in 1593 had been declared indifferent, were in many places abolished in 1597. All kinds of superstitions were brought to light by this visitation; some men still served Odin, others drank the blood of their enemies. So severe was Angermannus, that even the Government disapproved, declaring that he had behaved more like an executioner than an Archbishop; he was deposed rather later, and died in prison. King Sigismund in vain forbade the commons to pay the taxes settled by Charles; religion mastered everything else.

Fleming was now carrying on a war that cost the lives of eleven thousand Finnish peasants. Sigismund wrote, transferring all power from Charles to the Council; but the uncle, disregarding the nephew, summoned the Diet of Arboga early in 1597. Almost all the nobles absented themselves; the clergy had become lukewarm, but the peasants were zealous as ever. Eric Sparré and most of the Council now left the kingdom. Charles conquered most of Sweden and Finland, putting to death many of his opponents. The Estates bound themselves to suffer anything rather than retreat from their old position. In 1598 Sigismund landed in Sweden with 5000 Polish troops, but Stockholm and Dalecarlia would not obey him; he showed himself most mild, even on the battlefield. At last it was agreed that both sides should lay down their arms, that the foreigners should be sent away, and that the runaway Lords



of the Council should be handed over to Charles. Sigismund sailed home; the Estates assembled early in 1599, and enacted that he must send his son to be educated in the Protestant faith by the Swedes, or that otherwise his family should forfeit its right to the Swedish crown. Duke Charles, who had now crushed the Papal cause in the North for ever, was declared Prince Hereditary of the realm. Thus ended this Revolution, spreading over six years. The four pillars of Protestantism stood unshaken, though an attempt had been made by the enemy on Germany in 1546, on Holland in 1572, on England in 1588, and on Sweden in 1598. These Swedish affairs bear a great resemblance to the English Revolution of 1688, except that Sigismund had not made himself remarkable for cruelty, and that in Sweden there was no talk about the Divine right of Kings. Both realms owe a debt of gratitude to the Jesuits, who acted in so peculiar a manner upon their Royal pupils, and thus prepared the way for good government in the future.

Sigismund still held Finland, but his partisans further West were slaughtered by the Dalecarlians; many victims underwent prison, banishment, or death. Charles took the town of Calmar, where he was seen uppermost on the storming ladder; he dealt gently with the Polish and German garrison, but put to death some of the Swedish captives. He conquered Finland in the summer of 1599, showing himself ruthless and unforgiving. In 1600 he brought up the late Lords of the Council to be tried before the Diet; the clergy would take no part in these proceedings, which might lead to bloodshed. There were thirteen noble culprits, seven of whom (among them was Eric Sparré, the old Chancellor) were put to death, either immediately or later. The commons, though not the nobles, insisted upon capital punishment being inflicted. A great many of the highest families were banished and their goods confiscated. Vengeance was denounced against all who should plot to change Sweden into an elective Monarchy.

The Estates sent a memorial of renunciation to Sigismund, who threw the messengers into prison, ceded Esthonia to the Poles, and obtained their promise to back him against



his rebellious subjects in the North. Charles took the field and conquered most of Livonia, where in 1601 he had to face the great Zamoyski. In 1602 Charles received the oath of homage from the Finnish nobles, who had been oppressing the peasants, and reducing them almost to the wretched state of their brethren in Livonia; the Finnish peasant, unlike the Swede, had no property of his own. Charles found his clergy harder to manage than the peasants; he himself was not believed to be altogether orthodox, and introduced into his own chapel a service that seemed to be Calvinistic. The new Archbishop Martinson, a most pious and laborious divine, wrote against the errors of this new compilation; one of these was that heretics ought to be allowed Christian burial. Charles was a compiler of hymns and prayers, and also of a Catechism based upon that of Heidelberg; in its defence he waged a war of tracts with the Archbishop. The Royal theologian earnestly contended that the Lord's Supper was not necessary to salvation at the hour of death, and wished that absolution from sins should be offered to the sinner in the name of God alone. He further claimed that reason and philosophy should be admitted in discussing theology, quoting St. Paul and St. Augustine to this effect. Charles spent much of his life in striving to unite the Lutherans and Calvinists, though he disliked the doctrine of Election. He wrote more than one sharp rebuke to his own clergy, who were too intent on the things of this world; and he sometimes roughly handled the University of Upsala. Still it is to him that the Swedish clergy owe the legal determination of their revenues.

In 1604 Charles at last accepted the crown, after it had been vacant for five years; his coronation was not celebrated until 1607; the nobles and he were never on good terms, and he always protected the lower ranks against their tyrants. He created Gottenburg, which became the second town in the realm, attracting Dutch settlers by the promise of free toleration in religion. He opened up new mining districts, and established foundries for cannon and balls, which were exported. He made a new survey and assessment of the land; and this included Lapland, where he

built churches and established bailiffs. In 1605 he once more carried on war in Livonia, and rather later thwarted Sigismund's attacks upon Russia; the Swedes took Novogorod by storm. In 1609 Charles procured aids for the war from the Swedish clergy, burghers, and peasants, but not from the upper class; so furious was he at this lukewarmness that in haranguing his nobles he was attacked by apoplexy. Resolute to the last, he would make no concessions to Denmark, with which a war broke out in 1611. Charles, enfeebled as he was, challenged in vain the enemy's King to single combat. The Swede was eager to make an alliance with Holland, and thus to form a barrier against Poland and Spain, alike foes to true religion. Charles died in this year, 1611, at the age of sixty. No man before him, except his father, ever had such an influence upon Sweden; he seemed to foresee the Thirty Years' War by certain clauses in his will. A strong contrast was he to his brother Eric the maniac, and to his other brother John the half-papist. Charles had striven hard to tame the aristocracy; but, as time was to show, in this matter much remained to be done.

His renowned son, Gustavus Adolphus, came to the throne when not yet seventeen, having been trained to virtue by austere parents, and, moreover, accustomed from his boyhood to hear debates on public affairs; Maurice of Orange was his pattern in things military, while the young King delighted in the works of Grotius. He had been exhorted by his father to hold by the law without respect of persons, and to impair no man's rights. Sweden had been at war for the last fifty years, and was to have little respite from war for the next century and more, while the nobles were still hankering after an elective monarchy. The new King's Royal Warrant confirmed the legal principle, that no one should be apprehended without being brought face to face with his accuser; consent was given to another principle, that no new law should be made and no new tax imposed without the people's good-will. Gustavus was happy in his Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, a man ten years older than himself,

the Sully of the North, but a stout Aristocrat. Another friend was Skytté, the King's old tutor, employed as governor of Livonia, a great enemy to the nobles, and therefore to the Chancellor.

The influence of the Swedish army had been much increased, since many of the officers were called to the Diet. Sweden, owing to its situation, could not be long without a war. The position of the Swedish nobles was now much changed since the time, sixty years earlier, when they had ridden to the Diet, each with a hundred horse at his back, and when they had claimed that they should never be outvoted by the other Estates. Yet Gustavus was always popular with his nobles, though they were still apt to encroach. He threw himself upon them when he needed good lieutenants, and had many members of the Horn and Baner families in his camp. In 1625 he erected the House of Barons (*Riddarhus*), much about the time that the standing army was made permanent. The Barons were ranked in the Diet after the Counts, and before the officers of the army, all sitting to the right of the five high officials of the realm.

Of all the Swedish Kings, Gustavus, great warrior as he showed himself, was the least given to violence. It was said that he received his kingdom with two empty hands, yet robbed no man. All the taxes he imposed were according to law. He induced the nobles to sacrifice much for him; in 1627 they gave up their exemption from conscription, when a levy of every tenth man was made; this measure caused various uproars throughout Sweden. Great care was taken as to hiring recruits; criminals were sternly excluded. The levies became fewer in number every year. The system of conscription was new in Europe and peculiar to Sweden, inflicting fearful suffering on the land; the breed of horses worsened owing to the claims of the State.

The resources of the country were but small, and ready money was hard to obtain. More than six per cent was paid for loans made in Holland; at home ten per cent and upwards would have been asked. Sales of the Crown estates were made to the nobles, with perpetual exemption

from taxation ; leases of tolls and mines were also granted. Copper was called by Oxenstierna the noblest staple of the Crown ; a Copper Company was formed, and copper coinage was first brought into Sweden in 1625. A General Company, to trade with Asia, Africa, and America, was chartered in 1624, and led to the establishment of a colony at the mouth of the Delaware, known as New Sweden. The subjects of the King amounted in 1630 to not quite a million and a half.

The army of Gustavus had at first no uniform ; sheepskins were much in fashion. Arms were forged at home ; muskets were prepared in the hamlets of most provinces ; and the Crown had its own factories for weapons. Twenty-six saltpetre works existed in the realm. It was said that there was an India in Sweden if she knew how to use her mines aright. Gustavus imported miners from abroad, and placed the mines under a separate board of administration. The commerce of the country grew, and no fewer than seventeen towns were founded or privileged in this warlike reign. A college of Admiralty was organised in 1619, and a War college before 1630. The Chancery was called by Oxenstierna "the soul of the realm" ; he, moreover, founded the State Registry ; a learned man was appointed Antiquary and searcher of chronicles ; another of the same turn of mind arranged the Chamber of Archives from the scattered accounts which lay heaped up in two large vaults, "like hay in a stable."<sup>1</sup> In 1614 the Palace Court of Sweden (*Svea Hofrätt*) was erected, consisting of fourteen persons ; the benefits conferred by it on high and low were speedily acknowledged. The law sometimes employed torture to wring confession ; soldiers who quitted their wives for loose women were condemned to death ; criminals were sometimes handed over as slaves to the nobles. Gustavus threatened unjust judges much as Latimer had done in England ; their ears should be nailed to the pillory and their skins to the doom-seat. The people often brought their complaints to the King, who decided off-hand. But the amount of litigation was wonderfully small. The old

<sup>1</sup> Sweden in caring for her archives had a long start of England.



blood feuds were now put down ; no one stood alone, for all might reckon on a home, a kin, and help in need ; Sweden was as one man.

As to the Church, the General Consistory was to decide between Bishops and vacant parishes as to the ministers to be appointed ; it was to watch over purity of doctrine, and to maintain a censorship over printers and booksellers. The clergy strove hard for exclusive judicature over their own affairs without lay interference ; the Bishops strongly objected to a proposal of the King's that they should be submitted to a Court of the inferior clergy. The quarrels in the University of Upsala were so bitter as to draw down a rebuke from Gustavus, who removed the two men who caused the disorder, though they were most able teachers. Students were no longer allowed to beg their bread in the hamlets, but a fixed collection was made for them. The Bishops were asked for their opinion as to the hospitals, since leprosy was spreading in Finland, and the poor were treated worse than dogs. In 1625 Gustavus granted to the University for ever three hundred and fifty manors, his own heritage, and vast yearly sums to maintain exhibitions. He handed over his own collection of books to the University, and erected a building, still called "the Gustavian Academy." In the midst of war he never neglected the arts of peace. The nobles, such as Skytté, imitated their King in founding chairs for professors. Medicine seems to have been disregarded ; Sweden was extolled for three things ; she had one King, one religion, and one physician.

She earned the praise of foreigners ; Usselinx the Fleming, who came over to found a trading Company, declares that Sweden has many advantages over other countries in seaports, timber, the wages of labour, copper, iron, tar, shot, and munitions of war. The folk were hardy, docile, quick, and obedient to their rulers, with no wants. With a little practice they would become good shipbuilders. There were few manufactures, but the peasants easily became carpenters, smiths, cobblers, bakers, brewers, dyers ; and in this they surpassed all other nations of Europe. The women had many curious devices in sewing and weaving.



The fault of the Swedes was drunkenness and sloth. Rather later, a French traveller remarked that there were no Swedes in rags; he was readily forwarded on his way, probably because the peasantry were not heavily taxed, except in the matter of free portage. He remarked the difference between the wretched country folk in his own land and the Swedish peasants, who were neither ragged nor hungry.<sup>1</sup>

As to foreign affairs, Gustavus found his first enemy in Denmark; it was said that Sweden was lamed so long as this foe could bite her in the heel at will. The wars between the two countries were as long as those between France and Spain, and were most disastrous to the cause of Protestantism. Gustavus, the boy king, employed at the outset both Scotch and Irish soldiers, who were given to mutiny; his own yeomen stood by him most stoutly in this the first of his wars. At last in 1613 peace was made under English mediation. Gustavus now made an alliance with Lubeck and Holland, though Sweden still claimed the overlordship of the Baltic, much as Venice treated the Adriatic. One of the Dutch envoys describes Gustavus as slender of body, not vindictive, but most kind-hearted, remarkably eloquent, a youth from whom great things might be expected.

Russia was at this time on the brink of ruin; she was even ready to welcome a Swedish Prince as her future Czar. However, Gustavus led an army against her in 1614, but found in the next year that he could not take Pleskow. He prophesied the advantages that Russia would draw in the future from the rivers, lakes, and coasts near Finland. In 1617 Sweden and Russia signed a peace, by which the former gained much territory, while the new Czar, renouncing all claims on Livonia, became once more master of Novogorod. Gustavus told his Estates in a speech that the Russians could not now launch a boat on the East Sea without his leave; lakes and thirty miles of morasses divided the two countries. How changed all this was to be a hundred years later may be judged by the fact that Sweden now

<sup>1</sup> These travellers are quoted by Geijer in his chapter on the Internal Relations of Gustavus Adolphus.

held the ground on which later St. Petersburg was built. Russia, a few years afterwards, heard with joy of the victories of the Swede over the Pope's cause, a cause hated by both nations alike.

The truce with Poland had been prolonged to 1616, each country holding various towns in Livonia. But Sigismund had not lost all hope of regaining the Swedish crown, and was now intriguing for help from both Spain and Denmark. In the next year war broke out; Gustavus enjoined on his generals humane treatment of the peasants, the subjects of Poland; Livonia was laid waste by both of the combatants. A truce in 1618 was followed by a fresh outbreak of the war two years later; Sigismund allowed the Poles to negotiate, but declared that he would not ratify any convention they might make. This King's folly and self-will are glaring, especially as he was attacked at this time by the Turks as well as by the Swedes. This brother-in-law of the two greatest monarchs in Christendom, those of Spain and Austria, enjoyed himself but little reputation either abroad or at home.

In 1621 Gustavus drew up with his own hand his articles of war. The soldiers, who were often mutinous foreigners, were to be under special courts, where the provost-general had great power. Every tenth man was hanged if a regiment took to flight; other punishments were the wooden horse, the gantelope, and bread and water. The cane was forbidden, and courtesans were not allowed in the camp.<sup>1</sup> Prayers were said morning and evening. Blasphemy of God's name was punished with death, whether the sinner were drunk or sober. No duel was to be fought; if wrong were done, the officers of the regiment were to decide the point. Each regiment had two preachers, four surgeons, four provost-marshals, two beadles, and a hangman. The regimental staff was composed of men who did not fight, beginning with the quartermaster and ending with the hangman.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These women were so common in the German camps, that they were placed under an officer, called the wenches' beadle.

<sup>2</sup> See the Swedish Discipline at the end of the *Swedish Intelligencer*. This was printed in 1632.

In 1620 Gustavus made a tour in Germany and married Maria Eleonora, the sister of the Elector of Brandenburg. There had been much unwillingness to pair a Lutheran with a Calvinist, but the lady's mother, a woman of much common sense, overbore all opposition. Next year the King laid siege to Riga, which he took, as well as many Livonian fortresses; he thence advanced into Courland. In 1625 he began a new campaign against Poland, attacking her in her Prussian provinces; he took towns, it was said, as speedily as if he had ridden through the land. The people here were mostly Protestants, and rejoiced at being freed from Sigismund's yoke; the estates of the clergy and Jesuits were now declared to be forfeited. All irregular plundering by the Swedish soldiers was punished by the gallows. Even in this time of war Gustavus seemed to have his eye everywhere throughout his dominions; in 1627 he orders his subjects of the Greek faith, bordering on Finland, to choose two men whom he would send to Constantinople, that one of them might be consecrated Bishop; somewhat later a Russian deacon was pardoned some fault on condition of publishing a printed Russian catechism. Rather earlier Sigismund had done his best to prevent his subjects of the Greek faith from having Bishops of their own creed. The contrast between the two Vasa cousins is always to be marked.<sup>1</sup>

Gustavus, who was ably backed by his trusty general Horn, took the field again in 1628 and 1629, when the Poles seemed to have designs on Königsberg. At the battle of Stum the King was near being slain; he had been wounded some months earlier, and his generals in vain begged him not to hazard so precious a life. But now France and England, for very good reasons of their own, mediated a peace between the Poles and the Swedes; Gustavus agreed to a truce for six years, and by this means he kept some large towns in Prussia, while restoring others;

<sup>1</sup> But it must be acknowledged that under Gustavus three Swedes were executed who had embraced Romanism and would not renounce. This I take from Stevens's *Gustavus Adolphus*, since Geijer, whom I usually follow, says nothing about it.

freedom of religion was secured to both of the rival creeds, and also free trade.

So early as 1614 the Protestant Princes of Germany had invited Gustavus to be a member of their League; he had sent military stores to aid the Bohemians just before their crushing disaster. Later still, he had taken a warm interest in the defence of Stralsund. Afterwards, in 1629, his designs on Germany began to take shape; "for myself," he said, "I look henceforth for no more repose save that of eternity." The Swedish Diet promised to support him; in 1630 he crossed the Baltic with fifteen thousand men, leaving at home his brother-in-law, the Palsgrave John Casimir, the father of a Royal line. The King began by mastering Pomerania; the stern discipline of the Swedes astonished the Germans, who had been harried for the last ten years by the lawless hosts of Tilly and Wallenstein. Gustavus already spoke of striking at the Emperor's hereditary dominions, and at the German Bishopricks; this was the only way to conquer a peace. In 1631 Richelieu, who was a Frenchman before being a Catholic, promised a vast sum every year to his Swedish ally.

Tilly soon came to confront the King, and slaughtered two thousand Swedes, who had been left in New Brandenburg; this disaster seems to me the most serious blot on the generalship of Gustavus. But "the herring-eaters" (so the Swedes were nicknamed) avenged this loss by storming Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where the Scotch and Irish fought stubbornly on opposite sides. The sluggish Elector of Brandenburg was soon driven into the arms of the conqueror, his brother-in-law. The Elector of Saxony would not at once take the like step, and thereby brought about the sack of Magdeburg, where died many thousands of German Protestants. Gustavus complained of the lukewarmness of his allies; his army for sixteen weeks had not received a penny; his horsemen began to live on pillage. Six thousand Scotch and English joined him, but soon lost most of their number. Indeed, it was boasted at Vienna that the Snow King would melt before the Southern Sun.

Now came the battle of Breitenfeld, where eighty



thousand men met; the Saxons fled before Tilly, but the Swedes won the fight. The artillery of Gustavus, directed by Torstenson, fired three shots to the enemy's one. Old soldiers, whose legs had been broken, were seen fighting on their knees. Many of the prisoners made on this occasion took service with the conqueror. Protestant Germany was now saved; Gustavus sent the Saxon Elector to master Prague, while he himself swooped down on the rich German Bishoprics; he began with Wurtzburg and ended with Mayence, where he kept the Christmas of 1631. Yet in spite of all the rich booty in his hands he was forced to coin base money, as he openly avowed. He was now Protector of the German League, and called upon Ferdinand to revoke the Edict of Restitution, to recall the Bohemian refugees, to restore the Palatinate to its rightful owner, to banish the Jesuits, and to tolerate Protestantism.

In the year 1632 Gustavus marched across Germany to Nuremberg, one of his main strongholds. He then once more attacked Tilly, who did not long survive the wounds received at the passage of the Lech. The King restored Protestantism at Augsburg, the city dearest to the hearts of all good Lutherans; here he charmed the populace by his affability, scattering money among the children.<sup>1</sup> It was the German cities, not the faithless German Electors, that he put his special trust in. His soldiers had by this time marched to the lake of Constance, but he was now forced to turn Eastward and succour Nuremberg, which was threatened by Wallenstein. This chief, after two years of disgrace, had been recalled as the last hope of the Emperor and the Jesuits. The two ablest generals in Europe faced each other, and it was Gustavus who was baffled after a bloody struggle. The war was then shifted to Saxony, where the harassed folk seemed to worship their deliverer as a God. His career ended at the battle of Lutzen; here the fighting was so hard that some of the Swedish brigades lost five men out of six. He had not been two years and a half in

<sup>1</sup> Here a medal was struck, "*Gustava et Augusta, caput Religionis et Regionis.*" This looks as if Gustavus now aimed at the Crown of the Empire.



Germany when he was cut off through his fatal rashness before the victory was won.

Had Gustavus lived he would probably have dictated peace at Vienna, and saved Germany sixteen years of brutality and bloodshed. He would have established toleration for Catholics and Protestants alike, though he would have bridled the Bishops and driven out the Jesuits. He might possibly have stood at the head of a great Protestant Empire to the South of his own Baltic, while keeping fast hold of Pomerania. He would have carried into practice his own saying: "A Monarchy stands not in persons, but in the laws." He would never have forsaken the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants, ground down beneath the heel of the Jesuits. He would, as it seems, have made a marriage between his daughter and the young heir of Brandenburg, the Great Elector of the future. Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the greatest of German Protestants at this time, would have been another pillar of the new system. Gustavus is one of the foremost Captains of the second order; where he differed from Frederick and Napoleon lies in this, that the Swede formed a new school of generals, a school that after his own death was to have a mighty influence on Europe. But the ruthless ravages of these later commanders was to present a strong contrast to the strict discipline and respect to religion that had been maintained as long as possible by the great Gustavus.

He left his daughter Christina at Stockholm, who was not yet six years old, and who had the best education under the eye of Oxenstierna, the Chancellor, one of the greatest of statesmen, who knew the strong and weak points of every realm in Europe. He had a hard task in keeping the drunken and brutal Elector of Saxony steady to the Protestant cause; while another German, he of Weimar, threw away the great battle of Nordlingen. Most of the Protestant States, except Hesse, were ready to make a disgraceful peace and to get rid of their Swedish allies, whose country was now suffering much. There was great dearth and scarcity; the copper mines were much damaged; the constant levies for war pressed so hard on the Eastern folk that they fled

by thousands into Russia. But in 1635 Oxenstierna, who had already employed Grotius at Paris, went into France, met Richelieu, his future ally, and agreed still to carry on the war. The conquests of Gustavus in Prussia had now to be handed back to the Poles. In the next year the Swedish soldiers, who had been on the verge of mutiny, gained a great battle under Baner, and somewhat later made one of the finest retreats on record, in the judgment of Richelieu.

After five glorious years Baner died and was succeeded by Torstenson, the greatest of all Swedish commanders, if we except one. We sometimes find this skilful artillery general (nicknamed "the Lightning") at the gates of Vienna, and soon afterwards swooping down upon Jutland, when the Dane had proved false to the Protestant cause; this Gustavus had foretold. Peace was made with the Northern power in 1645; Sweden gained Bremen, and also exemption from tolls in the Sound. The enemy thought Torstenson was equivalent to ten thousand men. So great was the panic caused by this chief's swashing blow that in 1645 every fifth man in Austria was levied by the Emperor, who now began to think seriously of bringing the long and ruinous war to an end. Wrangel, equally great by sea and by land, commanded the Swedes for the last three years of the struggle.

Gustavus had wished to regulate the Swedish constitution; he had avowed that "a Monarchy consists not in persons but in the laws." He had no wish to see Sweden become an aristocracy resembling that of Poland; he therefore opposed an official class to the nobles. His wishes were carried out as far as possible by Oxenstierna, one of the best of patriots, as was acknowledged by the young Queen herself. The arts of peace as well as those of war were cultivated; even Lutheran bigotry was so far relaxed as to admit into Sweden industrious Calvinist exiles from France, who developed the mines and brought in manufactures. Here the nobles were able to check the Swedish clergy. Fleming, the High Admiral, drained the houses and widened the streets of Stockholm, though he gave rise to some discontent. Brahe, the head of the nobles,

was sent to Finland, where the inhabitants were said to be not men, but beasts; the clergy were so ignorant that few of them knew the Lord's Prayer. Brahe, the first Chancellor of the University of Abo, allowed no one to receive priest's orders who could not say his Catechism. The Bible was now translated into Finnish, schools were founded, and "the Count's time" was long remembered as a golden age in Finland.<sup>1</sup>

In 1644 Christina, being now eighteen, was proclaimed King, for the Swedish usage was like that of Hungary. She much resembled her grandfather's ally, the famous Queen Elizabeth, in her scholarship, her love of sport, her freedom from bigotry, her talent for business, her eye for handsome young men, her aversion from wedlock, and her faculty of swearing; on the other hand, she cared little for dress, and she was not, as was soon to be seen, above the weakness of deserting her post. She was most moderate as a politician, refusing to drive the conquered Danes to despair, and thus acting against the advice of her own Ministers. She went further on this road, and brought to an end the ghastly Thirty Years' War, which enriched the Swedish nobles, while it made Germany a wilderness. Neither France nor Austria was eager for peace; it was a woman, much hampered, who brought about the much-coveted blessing. Even Oxenstierna himself could not check Christina when once embarked on this noble undertaking.

The negotiations had gone on for years, but at last was signed the Peace of Westphalia, by which Sweden gained Fore Pomerania and various other fiefs of the German Empire, together with five million rix dollars; of this much was paid to the Swedish generals, renowned all over Europe. The nobles were rising to their old height of power, but Christina gained the support of the clergy by keeping the Archbishopric of Upsala vacant for some time.<sup>2</sup> She thought that, when good counsel was asked, sixteen quarterings were needless. The clergy and the nobles were now

<sup>1</sup> See Woodhead's *Memoirs of Christina*, 97-106.

<sup>2</sup> One of the Lutheran preachers at Stockholm raved against the Peace as furiously as Pope Innocent X., and was rebuked by the Queen.

opposed ; the latter wished to pay no tithes and to maintain their right of patronage in parishes ; a war of pamphlets was soon raging. Matthiæ, the cleverest of the Bishops, was always for moderation, and was therefore branded by the clergy as a secret Calvinist, who had favoured the project of a general union of Protestants. In the Diet of 1650, the longest hitherto known in Sweden, the clergy, burghers, and peasants delivered to the Queen a protest against the tyranny of the nobles ; at one time civil war seemed at hand. But the clergy at last undertook the work of mediation, while Oxenstierna shut himself up in his room. The Queen steadily refused to resume the Crown lands, a measure that would have ruined the nobles. These last actually petitioned that the deputies of the other orders should be punished for their bold speeches in the late Diet. Sweden has had a narrow escape from the fate of Poland.

Christina, who scorned all idea of wedlock, had already fixed upon her first cousin, her old playmate, as her successor, thus cutting off all hope of an aristocratic republic, such as the Swedish nobles purposed to establish. In 1649 this cousin of the house of Wittelsbach, the future Charles X., was named successor to the Crown ; Oxenstierna was the last man who yielded to the Queen's proposal. She found more delight in the society of the learned than in the duties of Royalty ; Descartes, Huet, and Salmasius became her guests. It was said that the Queen of the South had long before gone abroad in search of wisdom ; but in the present age, wise men, bent on the same errand, had to seek the Queen of the North. Milton, in his Latin verse, hailed Christina as the war-mighty maiden, the bright star of the Northern heaven. She found countrymen of her own well deserving of patronage, such men as Rudbeck, a Bishop's son, whose discoveries in anatomy rank next to those of Harvey ; the study of medicine and law were alike promoted in Sweden, which was now no longer isolated from the rest of Europe. Theology was a more dangerous subject ; the Queen's own physician, Bourdelot, was denounced by the clergy for irreligious opinions, and Christina



had to part with him. These Lutheran teachers were much scandalised by her favouring a learned Jewish Rabbi, who dedicated to her a work on Scripture.

In 1651 she first publicly announced her intention of abdicating, though her Coronation, lately celebrated, had cost enormous sums. She had been much bewildered by the speculations of her learned guests, and had lost herself in the mazes of theological problems, until at last she resolved to seek refuge from doubt in an Infallible Church. Two Jesuits, who had followed the Portuguese Ambassador to her Court, became the secret instruments of her conversion. Two other learned men were sent from Rome in 1652, who, braving the Swedish laws, held interviews in disguise with the sceptical Queen. She asked in vain for a Papal dispensation, which would have allowed her to receive the Eucharist once a year after the Lutheran rite. Her religious vagaries were no security for good government; she increased the House of Barons by four hundred and sixty new members, among whom was the Court tailor. In 1653 the peasants were speaking openly of revolt. Her nobles seem to have had a Republic in their thoughts; Oxenstierna openly admired the late doings at Westminster, all except the murder of King Charles. Christina, knowing this, was resolved to see a King seated on the throne before she abdicated.<sup>1</sup>

In 1653 Whitelocke arrived in Sweden as Cromwell's ambassador; he has given us a lifelike picture of that land in this her hour of triumph. Gothenburg, a great trading harbour, was the only place where anything but the sternest Lutheranism was tolerated; the Englishman often argued in favour of freedom of conscience, and seems never to have been silenced by a reference to the state of Ireland. He talked freely with the Bishops and Superintendents, men who were debarred from meddling in things temporal. Their churches were full of pictures, images, altars, crucifixes, and copes, to which Luther had no objection. Their written prayers were much like the services of the English

<sup>1</sup> See Isaiah Puffendorff's long State paper on Swedish affairs in Keyser's *Travels*, iv. 51.



Prayer-Book; the chanting was often very fine; sermons suitable to the holy days were read by the ministers year by year. The Archbishop of Upsal (a strange contrast to Toledo) went abroad with but two horses and one lacquey; he had but £500 a year in English money. The Swedish benefices were not so numerous as those of England; the parishioners had a voice in the appointment of ministers, who had seldom more than £50 a year. The University was by no means punctual in the payment of its Professors. One school had more than three hundred scholars, some of them bearded men, yet still liable to the rod; the Latin taught did not satisfy Whitelocke. The scholars at Upsala were about three hundred, lodging where they could. Our envoy enriched the University library with the works of Ussher and Selden; the best books to be found there came out of Germany. He was shocked at the profanation of the Sunday, when the Queen gave her balls and drove out, while the shops were open, and carting went on as usual; but this was not allowed until Divine service was over. Drunkenness abounded, and the Puritan envoy caused much displeasure in Sweden by stoutly refusing to pledge healths; some of the nobles, one of the famous Horns among them, avenged themselves on him one Sunday by drinking the Queen's health on their knees in the market-place, to the sound of drums and trumpets, in full view of his house. At the end of banquets, tobacco and pipes were set before him by his hosts.

Stockholm had much trade, as copper, iron, tar, and deals were thence exported; men of almost every country in Europe came thither and were well treated. The law-suits were carried on at greater speed than in England, and there were fewer of them, since the peasants durst not contend with their lords, and property was distributed among heirs by fixed rules. Criminals were beheaded or broken on the wheel; one punishment in use was running the gauntlet. The militia numbered fifty thousand men; these were quartered on the peasants, and worked in their host's behalf. Whitelocke saw eleven hundred cannon, taken of late by the Swedish armies; also eight hundred

foreign standards, one of which had been seized by the great Gustavus himself. There were arms for fifty thousand men; Cromwell was now ordering five hundred and fifty cannon from Sweden, to be made of brass or copper. The Diet consisted of seven or eight hundred men, who could only debate on what was laid before them by the Crown, though they might complain of grievances. Whitelocke thought the Swedish system, as explained to him by Oxenstierna, very like that of England; the great Chancellor, now not far from the grave, was applying himself to the study of the Bible.

His pupil, the Queen, abdicated the throne on May 11, 1654; she then made her parting address to the nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants. One of the latter stepped forward and spoke last of all, uttering a remonstrance. "O Lord God, Madam, what do you mean to do? Can you be better than you are? Where will you get such another kingdom? Continue in your gears; be the fore-horse as long as you live, and we will help you the best we can to bear your burden. Your father was an honest gentleman and a good king, and very stirring in the world; we loved him as long as he lived." The peasant then waddled up to the Queen, shook her hand and kissed it, wiped the tears from his eyes with a foul handkerchief, and so walked back to his place.

The new King of Sweden did an unheard-of honour to Whitelocke, visiting him in his house in full state, a fact which shows Cromwell's powerful ascendancy in Europe. The envoy urged upon his Royal guest religious toleration, besides abstinence from Sabbath-breaking, drinking, and swearing, the national sins of Sweden; a great Protestant alliance was hinted at.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the degenerate daughter of the great Gustavus went forth to abjure the Lutheran faith at Brussels, leaving behind her Matthiæ, her old spiritual guide, who was so persecuted by the Lutherans for his lukewarmness in dealing with the Queen that he had to resign his bishopric. His Royal pupil, after meeting with many strange adventures

<sup>1</sup> *Whitelocke's Embassy* was edited in two volumes by Mr. Reeve, 1855.

in France and Italy, died at Rome in 1689, the last of the Vasas.<sup>1</sup>

Charles Gustavus, born in Sweden, though belonging to the German house of Wittelsbach, succeeded to the Swedish crown as grandson of Charles IX. The new King had learned his trade under Torstenson, and never was there Monarch, not even Napoleon himself, more fond of war. Charles, known as the Tenth, was crowned and married in 1654. He is described as equal in valour and in knowledge of war to the great Gustavus; the new King's mighty soul was lodged in a huge body, so fat as to be almost monstrous. He wrote with his own hand long despatches to his ministers and generals. He would fight like a common trooper at the head of his men, a fault to be seen in many a Swedish king. His ambition was unbounded, but he felt little gratitude to those who aided him. He would take too much wine and then babble out what should have been kept secret.<sup>2</sup>

In 1655 he declared war upon the Polish King, who, in spite of King Sigismund's mishap, had still a hankering after the Swedish crown. Charles speedily took Warsaw and Cracow, while he aimed at mastering the whole country; his talents for war and his Protestant crusading spirit were highly esteemed by Cromwell. But the Swedish soldiers were slaughtered by the Polish peasantry wherever it was possible; and in 1657 the Emperor, the Czar, the Danish King, and the Tartars were all allied in defence of Poland. Charles at once struck at Denmark, and at the same time lost the alliance of Brandenburg. In 1658 he dictated peace to the Danes, acquiring for Sweden new possessions, Scania, Haland, Bleking, and a part of Schonen. Later in the year the Danish King allied himself with the Dutch, and broke the peace. He all but lost Copenhagen, which was delivered by his new allies after a furious sea-fight with the Swedes. The latter part of 1659 was disastrous to Charles X., who could barely make head against his many enemies. He died early in 1660, leaving

<sup>1</sup> Here I lose the guidance of Geijer.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de Gramont*, Petitot's Collection, lvii. 3-5.

a child as his successor.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Denmark effected her curious transformation of a most limited monarchy into an absolute despotism; but the peasants still groaned under the crushing yoke of the nobles.

The new King of Sweden, Charles XI., was but four years old; every department of State was mismanaged by the Regency, and Swedish troops were let out for hire to other countries.<sup>2</sup> Sir William Temple discusses in 1671 the interests of this country, so full of soldiers and naval stores; he tells us that it was the old friendship with England that brought Sweden into the renowned Triple Alliance, formed to check the rising power of France. Charles XI. was declared of age in his eighteenth year, and was soon at war with more than one of his neighbours; he in person won a great victory at Lund over the Danes. Peace was made in 1679, when he found himself thrown overboard by France, to his lasting disgust. He was so beggared by the misconduct of the late rulers of the land that he appealed to the Diet. There was a Privy Councillor, Gyldenstiern by name, who bore a deadly enmity to some of the noble families. He suggested to the King that a resumption of the Crown lands, now possessed by the nobles, should be effected; the clergy, burghers, and peasants were easily persuaded to make this motion in opposition to the aristocrats. Many of these last were brought to beggary; Count de la Gardie exclaimed, that of all the lands earned by good service for a hundred and thirty years, nothing now remained to his family. The fiefs being abrogated, there were no more vassals; the fine houses were forsaken, the customs fell off, and there was a decay of trade. Parents ceased to educate their children in the old style. Everything was in disorder; there were no stores in the dockyards or money in the treasury. The lower orders of the realm found themselves taxed higher than ever. Such old heroes of the war as Wrangel and

<sup>1</sup> See De Prade's account of Charles X. ; it is attached to his *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*.

<sup>2</sup> I depend upon Otté and Molesworth for the next forty years of Swedish history. The venality of the Swedish Senate at this time is best seen in *Jean de Witte*, par Pontalis.

Konigsmark were heavy losers. Livonia declared that she was not bound by the action of the Swedish Diet. Yet the whole business was carried on with great ease; the King spent everything on the army, dressing the infantry in English cloth. He made progresses through the country, a great hindrance to public affairs.<sup>1</sup>

In 1693 the Diet proclaimed Charles an absolute King, who might rule as he chose; Denmark had given the pattern here followed by the Swedes. The nobles in Livonia (the Patkul family among them) were hopelessly crushed by the overbearing Monarch. A new code of laws was given to the Swedish Church, and the clergy were enjoined to see that all were taught to read and to understand the Christian faith. It was said that Lutheranism and brandy were the two things with which the Swedes would tolerate no intermeddling; certain it is that the French Huguenots in their hour of trial were debarred entrance into Stockholm. Charles made himself most popular among the lower orders; he died in 1697.

We have an account of the land under his sway as it appeared to Lord Molesworth in 1688. The superior Courts of law acted as a stern check upon the lower ones; the King himself, a man of great patience and industry, had in seven years determined more causes than the Senators had done in twenty years. He always made a short mental prayer on occupying the judgment-seat. Sweden, Gothland, and Finland each had its own national Court. Each diocese had a Consistory Court for things spiritual. The jury of twelve men, sitting for life, was known in Sweden; the purgation by oath of compurgators still continued, as also did the punishment of fire. Duels were put down by prison and fine. The Swedes were more renowned for bodily hardness than for quickness of wit; the nobles, who furnished a thousand members to the Diet, never stooped to any trade; the clergy were but moderately learned, affecting gravity and long beards; the peasants were often maddened by drink; each man practised many crafts in a rude manner. Their wedding entertainments were ruinous. The Swedes

<sup>1</sup> Keyser's *Travels*, iv. 52-60.



were great church-goers and very loyal, grave, suspicious, and given to petty thefts. The clergy, whom the King wisely courted, numbered about two thousand or less, besides curates, all being the sons of peasants or mean burghers, most hospitable to poor travellers. According to the new code of Church laws just published, any change of religion or excommunication involved banishment; no public worship except the Lutheran was allowed. There were about eight hundred students at Upsala, many of whom lived on alms; there were only five or six hospitals in the kingdom. Twenty-eight regiments of foot were kept up, the pay of the officers costing £70,000 a year; the cavalry consisted of fifteen regiments; there seems to have been one officer to every thirteen men. There was one general military hospital. Swedish commerce dated from the first English war with Holland and the famous Navigation Act; half of Sweden's trade was with England, who sent thither cloths and woollen manufactures, tobacco, coals, lead, and tin.

These arts of peace were to find small scope in the next reign, that of Charles XII., the last and most famous of the Wittelsbach Kings of Sweden, the warrior whose picture has been drawn by our own poet once for all. Charles came to his kingdom at the age of fifteen, when he set the crown on his own head without taking any oath to his people. He gave to foreign Courts the impression of a rash lad, devoted to sport, and apt to squander money. In 1700 the Danes, Poles, and Russians, who all assailed him, thought that he would become an easy prey. But this lad of eighteen allied himself with England and Holland, and speedily enforced peace on the Danes. He next relieved Riga, and then at the head of eight thousand Swedes overthrew seven times that number of Russians, a feat unparalleled in European history. In the next year he stormed Warsaw and drove out Augustus, the Saxon King of Poland, who had been long in possession. In 1704 Charles caused a new King to be elected, young Stanislaus Leczinski, whose forefathers had been sturdy Protestants, a fact which perhaps accounts for the Swede's choice, and also for the steady enmity of the Pope to the new candidate. Charles himself had been for a

moment tempted to make himself King of Poland and to bring in Lutheranism; but he had the good sense to draw back. In 1706 he marched into Saxony and there dictated peace to King Augustus. Charles now stained his glory by an infamous deed. He enforced the surrender of Patkul, a Livonian patriot, who had for years struggled against the Swedish yoke; the unhappy man underwent the cruel death of the wheel, a wanton misdeed.

Charles had now almost reached his highest point; he gave law to most of Europe, and crowds of Princes attended his Court at Dresden; even Marlborough came to profess himself a willing pupil of the daring soldier King. The Emperor at Vienna was constrained in 1707 to make a treaty wherein he promised to give freedom of religion to the Silesians, and to restore the temples taken from these Protestants within the last sixty years. The Pope's Nuncio blamed this tolerance: "You are lucky," answered the Emperor, "that the Swede has not proposed to me that I should become a Lutheran; if he had wished it, I know not what I should have done." The treaty consisted of sixteen articles, and a medal was struck at Stockholm in honour of this Protestant victory. We learn without surprise that Charles filled up his regiments with eager recruits from Silesia and many German towns.<sup>1</sup> He ordered his Minister at Paris to intercede earnestly for the persecuted Calvinists.<sup>2</sup> In 1708 he marched against Russia, and almost reached Smolensko. The cold was most intense, and the Czar Peter had laid waste the country round. Charles suddenly halted, and marched South to the aid of his friend Mazeppa, leaving a second Swedish army behind him to be overwhelmed by the Russians. In 1709 came the black day of Pultawa, whence dates the ruin of the balance of power in Eastern Europe. It is indeed hard to forgive the iron-headed mad-man who was the cause not only of the downfall of Sweden, but also of the ruin of Poland. Charles's adventures in Turkey and Norway are well known; he met his death in

<sup>1</sup> Adlerfeld sets out the whole treaty, iii. 69. The Medal bore the inscription, "Sacris Silesiæ Evangelicæ restitutis."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 93.

1716, when about to set all Europe on fire, through the wiles of Görtz and Alberoni. As to religion, Charles was a sound Lutheran up to 1707; he thenceforward became more indifferent, and kept little of his old ideas except a belief in absolute predestination; his rival Peter had the same belief, which is curious in one of the Greek faith. Our William III. was another earnest partisan of this doctrine, the only thing, as he said, that could keep him from atheism.<sup>1</sup>

The crown went to Charles's younger sister Ulrica, who restored full power to the Swedish nobles; her Hessian husband reigned as King over the ruined land from 1720 to 1750, becoming a mere cypher. The treaty of Nystad in 1721 handed over to the Russians many old possessions of the Swedish crown, such as Ingermanland, Esthonia, Livonia, and East Carelia, together with certain islands; Finland had become a wilderness. Such was the end of the vaulting ambition of Charles XII.; his Polish candidate had long before fled before the Saxon claimant.<sup>2</sup>

Sweden was now torn asunder by the struggle of the Hats and Caps; she was lured into a war by France, and was utterly defeated by the Russians; in 1743 she had to give up Eastern Finland to the enemy. The King being childless, the crown passed to a Holstein-Gottorp prince, who was a mere puppet in the hands of the nobles. Protestant Sweden shamefully took part against Frederick the Great when he was struggling with fearful odds. The bribes scattered by France in Sweden had a most pernicious effect; the French here stood opposed to the English and Russians. Paris, Stockholm, and Constantinople were in close alliance about 1770.

A change took place when Gustavus III., the second of the new line, succeeded his father in 1771; he soon overthrew the power of the nobles, and made himself an absolute

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire discusses Charles's creed towards the end of the *Life* of that Monarch.

<sup>2</sup> The Swedes always spoke of Charles XII. as "the great King," and those who could remember him spoke of him sixty years later with tears in their eyes.—Sheridan, *Revolution in Sweden*, 165.

ruler, since the burghers had declared in his favour. One of his first acts was to forbid the torture, and also all party names.<sup>1</sup> He did much for the army and navy, but squandered vast sums of money on his foreign travels. He made war on Russia in 1788, but the Empress cunningly seduced some of his officers, who thwarted his projected march from Finland on the Russian capital. Peace was made two years later, after some of the bloodiest sea-fights ever known. Instead of keeping his eye on Poland, now in the jaws of destruction, Gustavus planned a crusade against the French revolution. His incessant demands for money angered the Swedish nobles, who had him assassinated early in 1792.<sup>2</sup>

The new King, Gustavus IV., showed himself a strong Lutheran when he rejected his proposed Russian bride on the eve of his marriage, on the ground that he would not tolerate in his dominions the public exercise of the Greek religion.<sup>3</sup> In 1800 he was aiming at despotism, and soon persuaded himself that Napoleon was the Beast foretold in the Revelations.<sup>4</sup> He continued his opposition to the Beast after the treaty of Tilsit, when more powerful countries than Sweden had made their submission. Russia was allowed by France to seize upon Finland, while a similar burglarious attempt was being made upon Spain. The vast hosts of Russia, trusting in gold as much as in iron, prevailed over Swedish valour, and another noble limb was thus lopped from the Swedish realm. In 1809 the nobles, who had long lived in a hotbed of intrigue, deposed their crazy King.

Charles XIII., the brother of the murdered Gustavus, reigned in his nephew's stead until 1818; many of the nobles had wished to settle the crown upon the Duke of Gloucester, so strong was the old feeling of alliance that knit Sweden to England.<sup>5</sup> Napoleon, angry at the contra-

<sup>1</sup> Sheridan, *Revolution in Sweden*, 312. The author was the elder brother of the great orator.

<sup>2</sup> Brown, who wrote a book on the *Northern Courts*, printed in 1818, describes Gustavus as polluted with the foulest of all vices, and declares that his successor was but a putative child.

<sup>3</sup> See Brown, ii. 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 319.

<sup>5</sup> Brown the historian was sent to negotiate with Percival and Canning on this point. See his work, ii. 347.



band trade carried on between these countries, subjected Sweden to many insults, although one of his marshals had been chosen by the Swedes as their future King, and although war had been declared perforce by Sweden against England, to the ruin of Swedish commerce. The new Crown Prince, Bernadotte, had abjured his old creed for another, thus treading in the steps of his famous townsman, Henry IV. The Gascon ruler soon proved refractory to Napoleon, and refused to send four thousand Swedish seamen to man the French fleet. Early in 1812 the great Despot laid hands on Swedish Pomerania, thus wantonly throwing Bernadotte into the arms of Russia. In the next year Sweden contributed thirty thousand men to the common cause, and these played their part well at Leipsic, though Bernadotte later on showed himself somewhat lukewarm in the great work. Sweden was compensated for the loss of Finland and Pomerania by receiving Norway, taken from Denmark, at the hands of the Allies. In 1815 the functions of the Diets of the two newly united countries were defined.

Sweden, like Poland, had of old no middle class to hold the balance between King and nobles; this want has been remedied only in the Nineteenth century, and the coming of Bernadotte brought blessings before unknown to the distracted land. Swedish and Norwegian commerce has increased amazingly, though the loss of Finland is the most fatal of blows. Bernadotte ruled until 1844; as often happens, he, a Jacobin in his youth, leant to despotism in his old age and worried the Swedish press; but his reign was devoted to peace and internal improvement. He seems to have employed irony in 1818 when, addressing the Lutheran clergy, he told them that the knowledge of the age was perpetually enlarging the empire of toleration, and that the Scandinavian clergy had been among the first to set an example.<sup>1</sup> Certain it is that in this matter Sweden has lagged for three hundred years behind Transylvania, and that religious restrictions were prolonged in the former country into the second half of the Nineteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> See Meredith, *Memorials of Charles John of Sweden*, published in 1829. The passage about toleration is in p. 318.



The old system of government by nobles, clergy, burghers, and peasants has been swept away, and the Swedish Diet now consists of two Chambers, meeting every year. Great is the change from the old times, when in this land Royalty and Aristocracy battled together for a far longer period than anywhere else.

The Churches of Sweden and England bear a curious resemblance to each other, their reformation in both cases proceeding from the Crown. But Sweden unhappily has given to the State Church a monopoly in religion, whence has resulted a dead and barren formalism; she is unable to cope with the vice of excessive brandy-drinking. About the year 1700 certain Swedish divines ran counter to the established Lutheranism, and insisted upon the necessity of good works; they were punished by imprisonment, and one of them remained in the house of correction for thirty years. No great theological works proceed from Sweden as from other Protestant countries; the clergy have to think of their families, and are encumbered by huge parishes, impossible to work; the same unwholesome state of things prevails throughout all Scandinavia. Dissent is thought a far greater sin than immorality. Every now and then an attempt is made to escape from the lifeless system that weighs upon the country. Thus in the Nineteenth century hundreds of Swedes allowed themselves to be ruined, or fled into the deserts of Lapland, rather than be confined to the ministrations of the State Church. In 1853 it was acknowledged that all coercion of the Readers (so the sectaries were called) was a failure. The sects of Baptists, derived from England and America, are increasing in Sweden, now that toleration is at last established in the land.<sup>1</sup> Let us hope that Swedish burial customs have changed for the better since 1838, when kinsmen did not feel happy about the future of a deceased friend unless the priest, well paid, had dropped some consecrated earth into the grave; and when a poor widow's only

<sup>1</sup> I take this account of Swedish religion from Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches*, 256-263. Laing came across some of the dissenters, as he mentions in his book on Sweden, p. 178.

cow might be demanded for the performance of this rite.<sup>1</sup> Morality, in the last-named year, was in anything but a wholesome state.<sup>2</sup> May the land of Gustavus Adolphus, the country that stood forth as the champion of Protestantism when England shrank back, feel henceforth more of the glowing fire that kindled Luther's heart when he was about to bring deliverance to Northern Europe! His reformation was all but bloodless in Scandinavia, which has not been called upon to mourn for millions of her sons starved or slaughtered, as was the case in Germany and Holland, or even for hundreds burnt as in England. The wounds and lacerations unhappily inflicted upon Sweden in the Century after 1709 have been the effect of politics, not of religion.

<sup>1</sup> Laing, *Tour in Sweden*, 246. Tyndale in his day exclaimed against seizing a widow's only cow, as was done in England about 1520.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The three millions of Swedes then existing were almost all given to rural pursuits. The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate births in Sweden was in 1820 one to fourteen, which is very large; in Stockholm the proportion is thirteen times what it is in London. The idle nobility, of whom there are thousands, are partly answerable for this; the drinking habits are another source of mischief. In 1837 one Swede out of seventy-eight of the town population had been condemned for theft. See Laing's book, especially the first 140 pages.

## CHAPTER V

### HOLLAND<sup>1</sup>

The Struggle against Spain . . .	1559–1648
Wars with England and France . .	1648–1713
Slow Decline ; the Revolution . .	1713–1814
Loss of Belgium ; subsequent Peace . .	1814–1902

A HAPPY riddance for Europe was the death of Charles the Bold. His subjects in the Netherlands, long oppressed by him, wrung from his daughter and sole heiress, the Lady Mary, a priceless boon ; this was the "Great Privilege," the charter of their future freedom. Among other States Holland in particular saw the revival of her Great Council and Supreme Court, while the seat of her government was to be in future at the Hague. The power of the purse and the sword was now removed from the hands of the ruling Prince. Mary brought all her dominions, on her marriage, to Maximilian and the House of Hapsburg. Her grandson, Charles V., a Fleming born, soon stood at the head of Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands, and had to face Luther and the Reformation, which broke out almost at the moment when Charles became Emperor Elect of the Romans.

The weak point of the Netherlands, both Northern and Southern, was the utter want of union between the different cities ; and this variance had gone on already for centuries. If one city made a fight for its privileges, the other cities would calmly look on. This was proved in 1540 ; in that

<sup>1</sup> I here follow Motley as my chief authority, so far as he goes.

year Charles crushed the freedom of Ghent, which had been driven into revolt by his constant demands for money. He was equally tyrannical in things spiritual; his Dutch and Flemish subjects had in crowds embraced the doctrines of Calvin, which nearly all of them, whether they spoke French or Teutonic, preferred to the milder teaching of Luther. Calvin's doctrine appealed to the burghers and handicraftsmen of these countries as warmly as it did to the nobles of Poland and Hungary. The men who, inspired by him, cast off the Papal yoke, were the last of men to bear with tyranny in things temporal. Hence Charles, an unrelenting despot, had a twofold motive for persecuting those of his subjects who durst think for themselves.

So far back as 1521 he had set Inquisitors to work in the Netherlands; and the Pope of that day had given his sanction to the holy undertaking. The Inquisitors might even arrest Bishops and Archbishops; the civil authority was subjected to the new tribunal, notwithstanding any privileges or charters to the contrary. Men were put to death for simply reading the Bible, for copying a Genevese hymn, for not kneeling in the street when the Host passed. The number of victims to this policy is incredible. Navagero, who was the envoy of Venice at Charles's Court in 1546, sent home word that more than thirty thousand persons had by that time suffered death for Anabaptist errors.<sup>1</sup> Even the Spanish Inquisition never shed so much blood within so short a time. The weavers of Flanders, whose looms were the main source of Cæsar's wealth, began to think of transferring themselves and their priceless craft to more tolerant climes.

In 1555 Charles V., a broken man, who knew that his career in Europe had been a failure, resigned his Spanish, Italian, and Netherlandish dominions to his son, Philip II.

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of Charles V.*, by Bradford, p. 471, where Navagero's statement may be found. Grotius, writing long afterwards, makes the number of victims to be one hundred thousand; Fra Paolo halves this number. See Gibbon's remarks on this point in the last sentences of his famous chapters on Christianity.

The new ruler, a true Spaniard, sullen and unpopular, thought more of work at the desk than of the tented field. He lived for four years in the Netherlands, after swearing to uphold all their privileges. In 1557 his generals (Egmont was one of them) gained the great battle of St. Quentin, a brilliant achievement at the outset of his reign, though the victory was not followed up. In 1559 Philip was thrown into a violent rage by the outspoken demands of Artois and other provinces—demands which he affirmed to have been prompted by young William of Orange, known as the Silent. The King, leaving this redoubtable subject behind him, set sail for Spain, there to enjoy the sight of scores of victims burnt by the Inquisition.

Philip had made his natural sister, Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands. She had as counsellors several Netherlanders, and also the renowned Bishop of Arras, known afterwards as Cardinal Granvelle; William of Orange represented the King in Holland and Zealand. He, the future founder of the Dutch commonwealth, had been placed, when only twenty, over the heads of all the Netherland nobles by the unerring instinct of Charles V. Learning from the unsuspecting King of France that a general massacre of Protestants was in contemplation, Orange was of course earnest in his endeavours to remove the Spanish soldiery from his country. Though at this time a believer in the Papacy, he was the means of rescuing many heretics, of whom he was the appointed butcher, from the fangs of the Inquisition. Being fond of feasting and hunting, he was now deeply in debt, while at the same time the most popular of aristocrats. His brother nobles were mostly ruined men, much given to riot and gaming; the lower classes, whether they spoke French or Flemish, persevered in their love for the doctrines of Calvin.

The man in whose hands Philip had placed the real authority was Granvelle, the Bishop of Arras, a friend to despotism both in Church and State, who spoke of "that vile and mischievous animal called the people," a race of men destined to give him and his Spanish master much



trouble. One of the first measures of King Philip was to add, with the Pope's sanction, fourteen archbishoprics and bishoprics to the prelatical staff hitherto thought sufficient for the needs of the three millions of Netherlanders; thirty new Inquisitors were now set to work. The whole country remonstrated against these proceedings as a breach of the constitution; Granvelle, soon to be promoted to a higher dignity than Arras, became most unpopular. The Spanish soldiery were prudently withdrawn, and in 1561 Orange, together with the rough soldier Egmont, was petitioning the King against Granvelle, who became the butt of comedies and satires. In the next year the Inquisition was openly resisted at Valenciennes; frightful was the vengeance that followed. At last, in 1564, Granvelle was withdrawn from the head of affairs. There was but little improvement in the Government; the Regent Margaret still went on selling places to the highest bidders, and victims were still burnt alive. The city of Bruges gave in a petition against an Inquisitor, who was citing before him men of untainted character, pretending that they were heretics. William of Orange made himself the spokesman of the people, declaring that the canons of Trent could never be enforced in the Netherlands. In 1565 Egmont was sent to Madrid; but this much overrated hero allowed himself to be put off with fair words. Even the clergy in various towns opposed the publication of the canons of Trent; but the Bishops and Doctors, assembled in council, still clung to the infliction of death for heresy. "If fear of punishment be taken away," said one of the learned men, "the heretics will soon be the great majority, as most of the people are ignorant fools." Later in the year the Inquisition was once more formally proclaimed in every town and village of the Netherlands. Business at once seemed to cease; the foreign merchants and artisans fled from Antwerp. The trade with England was becoming a thing of the past; about 1560 this trade had been worth more than twelve millions of crowns. Arms are specially mentioned as one of the articles of English commerce. The inhabitants of the Netherlands were reckoned at

three millions, while those of England were only two millions.<sup>1</sup>

In 1566 men began to sign petitions against the prevailing oppression; patriotic Catholics in this matter joined with Protestants; the former were men that loved the Church but hated the Inquisition. It was now not only foreign merchants but native artisans who fled from the doomed land. Thirty thousand Netherlanders sought refuge in England, where they became the best of citizens; each one was bound to teach his art and mystery to at least one English apprentice. A Catholic historian mourned that the English had now built up their own fabrics and prohibited those of the Netherlands; clothmaking, silkmaking, and dyeing had declined in the old home of these trades. English manufactures were now actually imported from Sandwich into Antwerp. Different indeed were the methods of Philip and Elizabeth; it was by this time estimated that fifty thousand victims had perished in this Century in obedience to the Royal edicts against heresy.

On April 5, 1566, two hundred nobles waited upon the Regent Margaret and laid before her the state of the country. She was much agitated, but a councillor advised her to care little for these beggars. The nickname was eagerly adopted by patriots, high and low; the beggar's wallet and wooden bowl became the badges of the reforming party. The Government seemed to be shaken, and put forth a new proposal that heretics should be hanged instead of being burnt. But crowds of men of all ranks came boldly forth from the towns to hear sermons and sing hymns; twenty thousand would sometimes assemble to listen to some preacher of small education; and this went on all through Flanders. It is strange to find that the French-speaking towns stood in the front rank; Mons, Valenciennes, and Tournay endured more for the great cause than Amsterdam or Rotterdam. At Tournay the Protestants outnumbered the other party (how different now!) by five or six to one. In this summer the first field meeting that

<sup>1</sup> Guicciardini, *i Paesi Bassi*, of the year 1588. See pp. 149, 167, 171. Surely England is here rated too low as to her population.

ever took place in Holland was held; Antwerp sent forth many of her best and wealthiest townsmen on a like errand. The Prince of Orange was now wavering in his creed and inclining to Lutheranism, though later he was to go still further. A great struggle was plainly at hand; a brother of Orange remarked, "The King will never grant the preaching; the people will never give it up." Orange himself had a most triumphant reception at Antwerp; it was now settled that the new religion might be tolerated in the suburbs, but not in the city. He was regarded both by the Regent and the populace as the one man who could control the storm, now near at hand. Some of the nobles were talking of hiring a few thousand German soldiers, since persecution still went on.

In this year, 1566, the great Image-breaking riots suddenly burst forth. No country could boast of more numerous churches than the Netherlands, and these were rich with the pious offerings of ages. The Regent had insisted upon Orange leaving Antwerp for a while; the mob of the city was therefore uncontrolled. The rioters were not more than a hundred in number; they rose on August 19 and tore down the images, pictures, and decorations of the noble Cathedral, while a great crowd looked on. Before the next morning the fanatics had sacked thirty churches in the city, and then proceeded to drive out the monks and nuns. There was no theft; not a man was wounded; the only cause of the outbreak was nothing but hatred of graven images. Four hundred churches were sacked in Flanders alone; the movement soon spread to Tournay. The Protestant ministers bitterly denounced the outrages, as if aware of what was to follow; the Prince of Orange was equally disturbed. Honest bigotry was at the root of the baleful movement; large sums of money were offered if only the churches at Valenciennes might be spared; the bribe was at once scorned. There was little reverence abroad; we read of one nobleman who gave the holy water to his parrot.

King Philip on hearing the news tore his beard and shouted, "It shall cost them dear, by my father's soul!"

The Regent was with some trouble prevented from leaving her Palace at Brussels; soon she found herself forced to abolish the Inquisition, though she heard from her brother at Madrid that he was resolved never to allow the States-General to be assembled. Egmont was so shocked at the outbreak that he left the popular side and became a mere tool of oppression, ordering many executions. Orange acted very differently at Antwerp, where the Reformed had already seized upon three churches. Horn was sent to Tournay, and there allowed the Calvinists to build meeting-houses outside the walls; they unwisely made use of broken images for their building materials. But the Regent had ready many troops who seem to have been Walloons, always the deadliest enemies of Protestantism over Europe; her courtiers declared that it was unbecoming in subjects to make bargains with their King. Tournay soon had to yield to Noircarmes, perhaps the most loathsome of all the public men of that awful time. Late in the year he was transferred to Valenciennes, which, refusing to admit a garrison, had resolved to stand a siege.

Early in 1567 was fought the first of the religious battles of the Netherlands—battles which were to last for fourscore years; Noircarmes slaughtered more than two thousand peasants who had come to the relief of the besieged city. Soon afterwards, near Antwerp, hundreds of the sectaries were cut down by the Walloon troops, and hundreds were burnt alive in a farmhouse. There were forty thousand of the Reformed persuasion in Antwerp; these, enraged at the fate of their brethren, broke out in revolt. Even Orange himself was received with howls of execration, and loaded firearms were levelled at him. At the peril of his life he brought about an agreement whereby the guardianship of the city was entrusted to Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists alike, the men of the three religions occupying different posts. Orange made good use of his influence with the Lutherans, a wealthy body, leaguering them with the Catholics; he then pointed out to the Calvinists that they were outnumbered by nearly two to one. At last the thousands of angry burghers laid down their arms; but some of the



greedy nobles, the partisans of Royalty, began to lay waste the provinces, hoping for new confiscations.

Valenciennes was still besieged, and Egmont took a leading part in compelling her surrender after a blockade of three months. Noircarmes gave a pledge that there should be no bloodshed; this pledge he broke at once, and his troops began to murder at their pleasure. For two whole years, as a Catholic burgher remarks, did the executions go on, while the noble butchers in command were heaping up wealth. The other cities, even Antwerp, were now overawed, and meekly received Royal garrisons. Orange resigned all his offices, and parted with his friend Egmont for ever. All implicated in the late troubles had to fly; the most industrious of the people left their homes in droves. Numbers were put to death solely for religion; the new churches were levelled with the ground. Men who had not gone to Mass for years now visited the sacred buildings both morning and evening. A proclamation was made forbidding any to leave the land; this edict was copied by Louis XIV. in the next Century. Philip's main regret was that under the new system heretics that ought to have been burnt were only hanged.

In the summer of this year, 1567, Alva arrived at the head of ten thousand picked veterans, the best in Europe. He had a scorn for his future victims: "I have tamed men of iron in my day; shall I not easily crush these men of butter?" The Regent, finding herself now superseded, was furious; but her brother Philip needed her no longer. Egmont and Horn were speedily arrested, while the wiser Orange escaped. Alva set up his Blood Council, which put to death eighteen hundred human beings in less than three months; the most dreaded member of this new tribunal was Vargas, an infamous Spaniard. A rich harvest of confiscations was expected. The victims were disposed of in batches, more than fifty in one day. The spirit of the Netherlanders seemed to be broken; the grass began to grow in the streets of populous cities; a huge fortress was built at Antwerp at great cost.

On February 16, 1568, a sentence of the Holy Office



condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics; three millions were doomed in three lines. Men driven to despair took to robbery, calling themselves the Wild Beggars, and were especially cruel to the clergy, whose noses and ears they cut off. A nobler champion now came forward. Orange had raised much money from his friends the German Princes; the Dutch cities contributed, as did also the refugee merchants in England; he pledged all his personal property, and seems to have beggared himself for life. His warlike brother, Louis of Nassau, invaded Friesland and slew some hundreds of Spaniards in fair fight. Alva, enraged at this onslaught, executed at Brussels eighteen patriotic noblemen, and shortly afterwards put to death Egmont and Horn—Catholics who had done yeoman's service to King Philip in bygone days; they had trusted too much to his gratitude. Even the Spanish soldiers shed tears at the death of such noble victims.

Alva now set out to meet Louis of Nassau, who was much harassed by his mutinous German hirelings. They met at Jemmingen, where seven Spaniards fell and seven thousand rebels. Alva found himself at the head of 30,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry. All hope seemed to be lost; Orange alone stood undaunted, righteous, and firm to his purpose, not to be affrighted if the whole world in ruins were to fall upon him. The German Princes, from Kaiser Maximilian downwards, entreated the refugee to sit still. He improved this time of rest by studying the question of religion. Advancing onward in his religious course, leaving Lutheranism behind, he became a tolerant Calvinist, though this description of his faith seems almost a contradiction in terms so far as this age is concerned. It was not, however, until five years later that he attended a Calvinist Communion, seeing clearly that Geneva alone could make head against Rome and Madrid. He rose high above his narrow sect in his love for untrammelled freedom of conscience, and owing to this love he was often reviled as an Atheist by his own party. He and the French Chancellor stood almost alone in Western Europe as to this matter, for no Western State had as yet

unwaveringly followed Transylvania in her noble path. Henceforward, as his private letters show, he held this world very cheap in comparison with the next; he seems in character the most perfect man of his age, for he had none of that disposition to exact retribution, the one flaw that mars the all but stainless career of his friend Coligny. "I see well enough," wrote Orange, "that I am destined to pass this life in misery and toil, with which I am well content, since it thus pleases the Almighty."

He was one of the first of European politicians to understand the value of manifestoes. He issued to the world a proclamation translated into many languages; herein he professed himself King Philip's good subject, while resolved to drive out the Spanish murderers; thus taking the ground afterwards occupied by the English Parliament in the war of 1642. Orange had gathered a host of nearly 30,000 men in Germany; these in 1568 he led into the Netherlands from the East. Alva had little more than the half of Orange's troops; but a well-disciplined army was worth a greatly superior horde of mutinous Germans. The Spaniard would not fight except at an advantage; and this he made sure of when he cut to pieces three thousand men of the invaders who had been left on the wrong side of a river; a blemish in Orange's generalship. Soon afterwards Genlis brought from the South a small army of French Huguenots; still not one of the Netherlandish towns durst rise. At last the Germans insisted on being led home, and the campaign of 1568 ended. Orange seemed to have begged and borrowed huge sums of money to no purpose.

The Six German Electors (some of them Catholics) had addressed a memorial to the Emperor Maximilian II., in which they avowed that the Netherlands ought to be included in the religious Peace, lately won for Germany. Cæsar hereupon sent his brother Charles to Madrid on a special mission, asking for mercy on behalf of the provinces governed by Alva. Philip thought this an unheard-of proceeding, and protested that he had acted with great clemency and gentleness; the Emperor ought to know

better than to recommend mildness in matters of religion. Early in 1569 the German envoy made a spirited reply, declaring that Flanders could not be governed in the same way as Italy and Spain, and so Charles V. had found. Philip read Maximilian a lecture on the Emperor's slackness in spiritual concerns; of the two Hapsburg monarchs, the one seemed the embodiment of Ultramontanism, the other of Moderatism. But worldly policy soon stepped in, and Cæsar became dumb.

This year, 1569, was the time of the great quarrel between Alva and Queen Elizabeth, who laid her grip on the treasures that were intended for behoof of the Duke's soldiers; the Flemish merchants suffered fearful losses, for the quarrel was spun out for years. At this time Pius V. sent Alva a jewelled hat and sword, gifts never bestowed by the Church except upon her doughtiest champions. The Governor now substituted arbitrary taxation for the old right of the provinces to tax themselves. Murder and robbery had stalked through all the land; still this one right had hitherto remained. Alva was bent on a tax of one per cent, to be levied upon all property, real or personal. Resistance at once began, now that the pocket was touched. The yearly value of manufactured articles was calculated at 44,864,883 florins; of this Brabant and Flanders contributed nearly half; Holland only two millions; a proportion that was to be amazingly altered in the next fifty years. Alva was able to overawe most of the provinces, but Utrecht proved stubborn; as a punishment, the city was deprived of her old liberties, and thousands of her burghers were ruined; the clergy in vain invoked the Bull *In Cœnâ Domini* against their lay oppressor. But bystanders could see that Alva's brutality had at length overshot the mark.

In 1570 an amnesty was published, which in truth granted mercy to no man unless he should procure absolution from the Pope. In this year a fearful inundation destroyed one hundred thousand persons, while the loss in cattle and other property was immense. The dykes had burst everywhere, and some towns were almost submerged.

Meanwhile Orange, hopeless as to his own land, had been fighting on the Huguenot side in France, while five thousand of Alva's soldiers had combated for French Royalty. The civil war ended in a treaty between Charles IX. and Coligny, and the reconciled pair began to plot the rescue of the Netherlands from Alva's grip. Orange, returning to Germany, organised a vast correspondence with every part of his country, and issued commissions empowering privateers to assail Spanish commerce. The "beggars of the sea," as they were called, became the foundation of the renowned Dutch navy, so famous in later times. "These sailors," said an enemy, "are becoming so skilful, that they can hardly be equalled in the world." Orange strove, but with small success, to check their drunkenness and ferocity.

In 1571 Alva found that he could not raise the desired sum of money from the States. He began to collect it by sheer force; the people suspended all business, and he was soon driven to remit the tax upon four important articles. He broke into violent fits of rage, never reflecting that he knew not the commonest principles of finance. His one consolation was that the rebel Orange seemed at this time to be reduced to beggary. In 1572 thousands of Netherlandish exiles sought refuge in France; at home no goods were sold at all, and the Spanish soldiers could get no pay. The Viceroy resolved to hang eighteen of the leading tradesmen of Brussels as an example; but his attention was diverted by a most unlooked-for event.

This year, 1572, is an important date for both France and Holland. The patriot Admiral, De la Marck, was driven from England by the order of Queen Elizabeth, who was now reconciled to Alva. Twenty-four ships, with starving crews, sailed over the sea to the mainland, and landed at Brill on the 1st of April. The town was seized by the three or four hundred sea beggars, the founders of a noble Commonwealth; but the enterprise was sullied by the murder of thirteen monks and priests, executed by the savage Admiral. A far more cruel chastisement, inflicted by Alva's lieutenant, befell the patriot town of Rotterdam. Flushing was one of the first towns to rise, and here the



renowned engineer Pacheco was hung. Volunteers poured in from France and England, and nearly every town in Holland and Zealand was soon in rebellion, to be joined by many cities in the North and East. The strife was most savage in the island of Walcheren. The rebels took an oath to the King of Spain as Count of Holland, and to Orange as his stadtholder; the arch-rebel, true to his conscience, gave instructions for the protection of Catholic worshippers.

Mons, a great manufacturing town far to the South, was seized by Count Louis and some French Huguenots; these last were Coligny's vanguard in a great combined enterprise that would have given the Netherlands to the King at Paris. Alva, on hearing of this new disaster, uttered curses upon the faithless Court of France. Moreover, vast Spanish treasures were captured at sea, and Alva found himself obliged to yield to his subjects in the matter of taxation. Orange took the field once more with many thousands of Germans and Walloons; he appointed a provisional government, and money was speedily raised. One of his first instructions to his lieutenants was death to those who might infringe freedom of religion.

In July the Spaniards won a victory over the French allies of Orange, while he himself marched from the Meuse to the South of Brussels. Letters came from Coligny with the news that fifteen thousand Frenchmen would soon be in the Netherlands; King Charles was all that could be wished, and the Spaniards were quaking at their approaching defeat.

Late in August Orange was struck to the earth by a sledge-hammer blow on hearing that King Charles had suddenly turned round and had sanctioned the butchery of Coligny and of thousands of French Protestants. Philip, saved from ruin by the mingled crime and blunder of the St. Bartholomew, was seen to laugh, and agreed that his French apprentice had really learnt his trade. The despot of Madrid wrote blithely to Alva that henceforward neither England nor Germany could trust Charles IX. The wretched youth strove to excuse himself for his purposed enmity to



Spain, and at the same time tried to maintain friendship with Orange. The cut-throat King was guilty of the murder, not only of his own subjects, but also of the burghers of Mons, and of thousands of Netherlanders whom he had inveigled into rising against Alva.

Orange all but fell a victim to a night onslaught of the redoubtable Spanish soldiery, and then found himself constrained to lead his mutinous Germans back to their own country. Sound patriot as he was, he knew little of the art of war. "It has pleased God," he wrote, "to take away every hope that we could have founded upon man." His brother Louis was forced to give up Mons, where afterwards Alva's hangmen were busily at work for a whole year, in direct defiance of the capitulation. Noircarmes revelled in confiscations, and the prosperity of wealthy Mons was at an end. Arrears were owing to Alva's soldiery; these he paid off by allowing them to sack Mechlin for three days; here the monasteries supplied a great part of the plunder seized. Zutphen was taken by Alva's son, and hardly one man was left alive. Soon resistance died out everywhere, except in Holland and Zealand; even here Amsterdam had become a Spanish stronghold. The little town of Naarden underwent the usual doom of any place that durst stand out against the wicked soldiery, whose brilliant feats in the field were at least equal to their cruelty. They easily learnt any new operation of war, and thus were soon able to meet the Dutch on skates. In the hard winter of the gloomy year 1572 began the famous siege of Harlem, where a garrison of four thousand withstood the utmost efforts of thirty thousand foreign besiegers. Three hundred women, well weaponed, took a prominent share in the defence. All attempts from outside to relieve the town ended in failure. Alva avowed to his master that such a war had never been seen or heard of. The grapple of the hostile navies at the last, close to the town, reminds us of the great fight in the Syracusan harbour, as handed down to us by a master's hand. Nettles and weeds were eaten by the townsmen when rats and mice had failed. At length, on July 12, 1573, Harlem yielded to the Spaniards, after a siege of seven months. Life was

promised, as usual, to almost all; but the conquerors at once set about the butchery of twenty-three hundred victims. The loss of twelve thousand of the besieging army had to be atoned for; and those that survived were always ready to mutiny for want of their pay; twenty-five millions of florins had been in vain sent from Spain within the last five years.

The next city to be attacked, in the summer of 1573, was Alkmaar, further to the North. Affairs seemed hopeless; Orange was asked by his lieutenant, Sonoy, if there was any chance of help from some Monarch; the answer was, "I have entered into a close alliance with the King of kings." A thousand Spaniards perished in one assault on the beleaguered town, and the siege had to be raised in October. Unhappily the breach of faith, so usual among Alva's followers, was more than once imitated by the Dutch, though never with the sanction of their great leader. Alva himself at this time wrote to Philip that a monarch's promises were not to be considered so sacred as those of private gentlemen. Orange had much trouble with his followers. De la Marck, to whom Holland owes so much, tortured and slew an aged priest, highly esteemed by the patriot party. The ruffian was in consequence dismissed by the States of Holland from their service, and was forced to leave the country.

Meanwhile Charles IX. and his mother, intent on the crown of Poland, had found it their cue to apologise for the St. Bartholomew, which turned out to have benefited none but King Philip and the Pope. Moreover, the crown of the Empire was now open to the Princes of Europe; Philip offered to tolerate heresy in the Netherlands if he only might be elected King of the Romans; so much for his religious zeal, which is always paraded as an excuse for his many murders! The French Huguenots were at last left in peace; and Orange, probably much against his will, had to stoop to a treaty with the French King, who was to supply money and soldiers in return for acquiring the dominion over the Netherlands outside Holland and Zealand; freedom of worship for both creeds was made a leading con-

dition of the new arrangement. Orange in a State paper implored the provinces that were still in the clutch of Spain to join their brethren, the men who had already done so much. He had now partaken of the Calvinist communion, heedless of the offence thus given to the Lutheran Princes of Germany.

At the end of this year, 1573, Alva left the Netherlands; his last exploits were to roast alive a Dutch nobleman for a political offence, and to ruin his many creditors in the country by leaving his debts unpaid. His work, lasting more than six years, had ended in failure; he had found himself overmatched by Orange. Never had so much murder and robbery been perpetrated within a short time as by Alva's Blood Council, yet all had been in vain. He was succeeded by Requesens, a man of very moderate ability. The outlook before the new Governor-General did not seem bright; for the Catholic noblemen, the old props of despotism, even Noircarmes himself, were proposing terms of peace with the rebels. It was no light matter to maintain an army of sixty-two thousand men, and to spend seven millions of dollars yearly. The rebels had the upper hand whenever they were on the sea or behind walls; in the open field it was otherwise. They were now getting money from the French King; the old tie between France and the Northern heretics—the tie that explains so much of European history—seemed to be once more fast knit.

The year 1574 opened with a great sea victory, which ended in the capture of Middelburg by the Dutch. Another attempt was now to be made from the East. Orange was the statesman of the family, but his brother Louis was the bold knight who could dazzle even the corrupt Parisian Court. Louis, the statesman's right arm, had now hired many thousands of French and Germans; with these, coming from the East, he fronted the important town of Maestricht, which, however, he could not take. He lost a battle at Mook, where he himself was slain; three of the brothers of Orange had by this time laid down their lives for the great Cause. On the next day the victorious Spaniards broke out into mutiny, since three years' pay was owing to them;

it was reckoned that but one-fourth of the money sent from Spain ever reached the soldier. They chose a leader of their own, known as the Eletto, and marched across the land to Antwerp, which was under Champagny, brother to Cardinal Granvelle; Requesens himself in vain harangued them, but some money was raised in the city to satisfy the mutineers at least for the time.

The siege of Leyden had been prosecuted by the Spaniards for five months from the autumn of 1573; it was then broken up, and a respite of two months was given, shamefully neglected by the burghers. The real siege began at the end of May 1574; the besieged paid little heed to an amnesty granted by King Philip on the sole condition that the rebels should return to the bosom of Mother Church, an amnesty still further confirmed by a Papal Bull; Southern Europe knew well what she was now losing. Orange persuaded the States to lay the land under water so as to save Leyden, while he himself was on a sick-bed. Eight hundred Zealanders came to the rescue, men who had liever the Turk than the Pope.<sup>1</sup> They wore the Crescent, and neither took nor gave quarter; they could use the harpoon as well as the sword on the Spaniards. Their Admiral, Boisot, was almost baffled in spite of his good seamanship. Leyden was wasted, not only by famine, but by the plague, which carried off more than six thousand. The stout-hearted burgomaster offered his own body for meat to the starving folk rather than that they should yield. At last the enemy withdrew, and Boisot's men forced their way into Leyden on the 3rd of October; hymns of praise were sung in the great church by thousands of voices, now that the agony of four months was at an end. As a reward for their sufferings, the University of Leyden, soon to become one of the most famous schools in Europe, was founded, drawing its revenues mostly from an old abbey. Rather amusingly, the founder was declared to be Philip, in his capacity of Count of Holland. The two rebel provinces, soon to be more closely united, raised almost as much every month as Alva had drawn from Holland in a

<sup>1</sup> *Liever Turx dan Paus.*



year. Orange was now made Commander-in-Chief, and indeed he was practically Dictator; by this time all the Catholics had disappeared from the two provinces, except a few ecclesiastics.

Early in 1575 Philip made another fruitless effort to effect a peace; he would allow of no Church but his own, but offered a respite of six months to dissenters before they need leave their old homes. The more practical Orange was now firmer than before in his seat, owing to the popular vote; he at this time enraged his allies, the Lutheran Princes, by divorcing his Saxon wife, a shameless and crazy woman, utterly unworthy of him; he replaced her by a noble Huguenot lady from France. In this year was inflicted the blackest of stains upon the patriot cause. Sonoy, Governor of the North of Holland, who had rendered the greatest services to the said cause, thought he had detected a conspiracy in aid of the Spaniards; he tortured and put to death at least ten men, cheating them besides of the life promised to them upon confession; one victim had his bowels gnawed by rats sent for the purpose and maddened by extreme heat. Orange stopped other murders that had been planned, but could not afford to dismiss the savage Governor, a most useful chieftain. In this year the most brilliant exploit ever achieved by the Spaniards in the whole war was performed under the eye of Requesens; they marched through the sea for six hours, exposed to the harpoons of the Zealanders, and thus mastered an island of great importance. Shortly afterwards the nobles and deputies of South Holland offered in vain the sovereignty of their country to the Queen of England, who had little love for rebels; France and Germany were equally cool; all three countries were far too much given to play fast and loose with the struggling Dutch.

The year 1576 opened gloomily; Orange, despairing of help from abroad, for a moment thought of transporting the whole of his countrymen either to Asia or America. His enemy Requesens, after suffering much in the same way as himself for want of funds, died early in the year; an event which much perplexed Philip, for no fitting successor



was at hand. Moreover, a new enemy, the brother of the French King, was already making his influence felt in the Netherlands. Fighting went on, and Boisot, the brave Dutch Admiral, lost his life, unable to prevent the fall of Zierickzee. No sooner had this town yielded than a mutiny broke out among the Spaniards and Walloons; "Give us money, or give us a city," was their cry. They seized upon Alost, not far from Brussels; the natives of the land, from the Catholic Prelate to the Anabaptist craftsman, shuddered at what might be inflicted by six thousand brigands, who were soon joined by the German regiments. By September Philip's whole army was united; some of them already held the citadel of Antwerp. All the provinces alike, Northern and Southern, hated the foreign soldiery, men to be outlawed; of this feeling Orange took full advantage, and once more proposed a national government under the nominal sway of Philip; and a general congress was held at Ghent. But none could withstand the Spaniards in the open field. Some of the burghers rose at Brussels and imprisoned certain nobles, the old partisans of Philip. In November the mutineers marched to Antwerp, which in vain attempted resistance. The sack of the town surpassed all that had gone before; a thousand of the finest houses were burnt, eight thousand persons were slaughtered, and twelve millions of property were seized or destroyed. The disaster is known by the name of the Spanish Fury; what had been the richest city in Europe lay in the dust.

This frightful disaster had some effect even upon the Catholics; it produced the famous Pacification of Ghent, whereby the Northern and Southern provinces were united under the leadership of Orange; religious persecution was to cease and Protestantism was recognised; the Inquisition was abolished, and the foreign soldiery were to be withdrawn by Philip, who was still held to be the Ruler of the land. It was a noble plan; pity it was that the North and South were, a few years later, to be rent asunder by Italian cunning. Much about the time of this much-desired Union, Don John of Austria, he of Lepanto, rode into Luxemburg. He was the new Governor, with orders

to grant nothing ; he was to experience the petty manœuvres of Philip even more than Alva and Requesens had done. The eventful year ended with an opinion, given by many Catholic bishops and theologians, that the new Pacification contained nothing hurtful to the Papal religion.

Early in 1577 the Union of Brussels was formed, which aimed at expelling the Spaniards ; it was based on the will of the people, even the Southern nobles joining. Friesland and Groningen, long lost, were now restored to the popular party. Don John of Austria at one time tried fencing with the demands laid before him ; at another time he flew into a violent rage ; but whatever he did he was no match for Orange. The Perpetual Edict, purporting to ratify the Ghent treaty, was signed, and was confirmed by Philip, but it was not tolerant enough for the great patriot, who saw that Holland and Zealand were thereby separated from the sister provinces, whereas he wished to confer the rights of citizenship even upon Anabaptists. One thing at least was achieved ; the Spanish soldiery were sent out of the land they had oppressed for ten black years, though ten thousand Germans remained. The Governor made his entry into Brussels, which he in private termed a hell, where he was surrounded by drunkards and wine-skins, having been bred himself in temperate Spain. He emphasised the contrast between himself and Orange by beholding the execution of a poor tailor on account of religion. Later in the year he alarmed the States by seizing the citadel of Namur, but was baffled on attempting to get hold of Antwerp. He complained that the people loved and obeyed in all things a heretic and tyrant, this damned Prince of Orange ; they were soon laying low the Antwerp citadel, built by Alva. The patriot chief now made his entry into Brussels, after an absence of eleven years. One exception there was to the general union of hearts ; the Catholic nobles, a worthless set of men, were fiercely jealous of Orange, though they had not quite come as yet to prefer the Spaniards to him. They fetched from Vienna a counterpoise, the Archduke Matthias, a harmless youth, who was received with all honour, and was then content to abstain from any interference with the great

game as played by a wiser man than himself. The burghers of Ghent rose, imprisoned the Catholic nobles, and welcomed Orange; on his visit to the town rather later a pageant was shown in which Catholicism and Protestantism embraced each other; this was indeed a fleeting illusion. In December the States renounced Don John as their Governor, and a new Act of Union was signed, which set the two creeds on the same footing. Freedom of worship now prevailed everywhere. Namur was lost, but sixteen provinces remained to sign the new, and unhappily the last, Union of Brussels. Orange, the champion of the rights of conscience, at this moment stood on his loftiest pinnacle, and was able to get help from England. Here we take leave of the hopeful year 1577, when European Protestantism reached its highest water-mark; after this time a certain subtle influence was to bring back millions of German peasants and thousands of Polish nobles to the former fold; Bohemia, Hungary, and France were in time to tread the same evil path as the Southern Netherlands.

The year 1578 opened with the inauguration of the Archduke Matthias as nominal head of the Netherlands, all the real power being in the hands of Orange. Don John, naturally enough, was in a frenzy of rage; he pronounced liberty to be a contagious disease which went on infecting one neighbour after another. But the foreign army, twenty thousand strong, was once more marching back to overwhelm the Netherlands, part of it being led by Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, whose handiwork remains to this day. To this ablest of all the agents of Despotism was due the victory of Gemblours, won in January, where the patriot army was utterly crushed; the Scotch prisoners were afterwards deliberately drowned by hundreds in the Meuse. Many towns, such as Louvain and Tirlemont, were brought back to the Spanish yoke. On the other hand, Amsterdam at last threw off this yoke, in spite of the swarms of monks within her walls. The States, Catholic though the more part were, complained of the Bull by which the Pope had invoked war upon them as if they had been Saracens. His power was waning; fifteen different Protestant ministers were preaching on one

Sunday in different parts of Antwerp. "Do you think that this can be put down?" asked Orange. In August Don John fell back to Namur after having lost a battle. But the Catholic nobles were doing their best, perhaps unwittingly, to ruin the great Cause; they brought in Anjou, the worthless brother of the French King, a Prince whom Orange treated with too much mildness. The Frenchman's partisans were known by the name of Malcontents; the best of them was Champagny, the brother of Cardinal Granvelle; and even Champagny could not understand religious toleration. Opposed to him were the Brussels mob, strong on the side of Protestantism. Soon came the news that Don John of Austria was lying dead, a worn-out and disappointed man, the last of the Crusaders; he had governed the Netherlands for two years. He was succeeded by the Prince of Parma, son to the old Regent Margaret. Half Jesuit, half soldier, with no scruples as to murder or lying, the new Governor excelled all mankind in the art of bribing and flattering men; and he found rare materials to work upon in the Malcontent nobles. Orange, harassed by false and selfish friends even more than by open foes, could not keep up his army. One great source of trouble to him was Ghent, the second city in the Netherlands, almost wholly Protestant. Here men were put to death in cold blood, and the populace drove out the Catholics, laying waste their churches; at last Orange restored peace, grounding it on his beloved toleration of both sides. It seemed probable at this time that Anjou would marry Queen Elizabeth, and this proposed wedding appears to have led Orange somewhat astray in his politics. But already the Malcontents had begun to take Parma's bribes; Gravelines was the first town to be sold by its governor. A skilful agent, the Prior of St. Vaast, brought over the town of Arras, where the clergy had been much enraged by demands for money. Here there was a strong Liberal Catholic party, the leaders of which—men who wore the Orange colours—were taken unawares and hanged; they were the last chiefs to strike a blow for the freedom of the Southern country. The whole of Artois was now, late in 1578, lost to the Cause; the Great Reaction had indeed



begun. It had required some skill to manage the high-born traitors, and the Prior well earned the Archbishopric of Cambrai, given him later by King Philip.

The year 1579 saw the reactionary League between Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douai, and Orchies; Spain might well triumph, though as yet but little of Teutonic ground had been lost by the patriots, who were able on their side to form the Union of Utrecht, embracing most of the Northern Netherlands; they threw open its advantages to the Catholics. This was the real foundation of a new European commonwealth after a hard fight of seven years; even now the Spanish King was not cast off. Parma on his side gained a most solid victory by inducing the Southern provinces to make an accord with Philip; here there was no religious stumbling-block. The Netherlands were now severed in twain for ever, if we except a few years after the French Revolution. To this, it must be allowed, Protestant fanaticism had contributed; Antwerp and Utrecht were as violent as Ghent. Meanwhile Maestricht stood a long siege from Parma; and when the town was taken, not more than four hundred citizens were left alive after the usual massacre. In 1580 Philip apparently attained his loftiest height of power by conquering Portugal. He further marked the year by publishing, agreeably to Granvelle's suggestion, his notorious Ban against Orange, offering a huge sum to any man who would murder the Prince. Orange answered by publishing his well-known *Apology*, a noble and eloquent State paper. The patriots were now inviting Anjou into their country, for France could not tamely see the amazing rise of Spain. La Noue of the Iron Arm, one of the noblest Frenchmen of the day, had fallen into Philip's hands, who offered to set the captive free on condition that La Noue would consent to have his eyes put out; to this point had the old Spanish chivalry sunk.

In 1581 the authorities in Brussels, following the example of other towns, suspended Catholic worship, charging the priests with various impostures. But this year was to be illustrated by a far nobler achievement. The States of the Netherlands abjured Philip's sovereignty



for ever ; most of them were pledged to Anjou, but Holland and Zealand now requested Orange to accept the entire authority so long as the war should last, at the same time enjoining that no hindrance should be offered to any man on account of his religion. The Dutch Commonwealth was now practically founded. All the States proclaimed the truth that subjects may lawfully depose a tyrant ; they recited all Philip's misdeeds down to the too famous Ban. They spoke of laws implanted by Nature in the universal heart of mankind. They branded the Inquisition as "the first and true cause of all our miseries," and on this point Catholics could unite with Protestants. Here was the first appeal ever heard by the world to the true principles of government. The Netherlands taught mankind that there was a contract between the rulers and the ruled, and that these last could not be disposed of like so many cattle. The lesson has later been learnt by England and by many another nation. But all was not well ; the Netherlands were now divided into three parts, represented by Philip, Anjou, and Orange ; we are inclined to find fault with the great Prince for not being so ambitious as his country's need required ; he was unseasonably modest when he rejected, in favour of Anjou, the powers offered to himself. At this time the Archduke Matthias, having served the purpose for which he had been brought from Vienna, took his departure with a good pension. He left in dispute the nominal headship of the land ; many patriots disliked Anjou's character, but Orange made answer that France was the only country whence there was the slightest chance of help ; Anjou was, moreover, favoured by England.

In 1582 the French Prince arrived in Antwerp, where he was welcomed with hearty rejoicings, and where Orange all but perished by the hand of a Biscayan murderer, whose proved fanaticism sets before us a strange chapter of human nature. In this year Parma clutched Tournay and Oudenarde, the latter being his mother's birthplace.

In 1583 Anjou, the most faithless of men, was plotting the best means of seizing the great towns of Flanders ; he was bold enough to think that he, at the head of four

thousand Frenchmen, could master Antwerp. The "French Fury," as it was called, ended in failure; two hundred and fifty of the foreign nobles were slain, and nearly two thousand of the rank and file; the burghers had borne themselves right well in the fight so treacherously forced upon them. Even now Orange could not rid himself of his trammels; Anjou, wretch as he had proved himself, had still to be conciliated. Queen Elizabeth interposed on his behalf, and at last the Flemish towns that had been seized by the French were handed back, on payment of a sum of money. Anjou in the summer left for ever the people he had betrayed. The United Provinces again offered the government to Orange, but in vain. Meanwhile Parma was making fresh gains, among them Dunkirk, a future thorn in the side of the patriots, whose great leader had now to mourn the treason of his own brother-in-law. In 1584 things looked worse; even the city of Ghent was listening to Parma's offers, and Bruges actually went over to him; at Ypres the Bishop was soon able to tear the bodies of many deceased Protestants from their graves. Two deaths made this year, 1584, for ever remarkable; the first was that of Anjou, an event which brought forward a heretic as the next heir to the crown of France; the second death was that of Orange. Within the last two years there had been five attempts to murder the Prince, with the privity of the Spanish Government; the sixth succeeded; Parma was a consenting party to the plot. Thus Orange died in his prime, leaving half his task unfinished; the high-born bribe-takers among the Catholics, and the restless fanatics among the Protestants, had made Parma an overmatch for Orange; many more provinces were to follow Artois and Hainault in their downward course. Thus passed away the great Protestant champion, the lover of religious toleration, leaving the most stainless of names; Washington alone can be compared to him; and Washington never had to face such generals as Alva, such wiry soldiers as the Spaniards, such never-yielding fanaticism as that of Philip.

It was soon seen that Orange was in his grave, for Parma was able to snap up many a famous city, such as

Ghent, the keystone of the land; here the Protestants were allowed two years to wind up their affairs, should they prefer exile to the Pope. The inhabitants were reduced to one half, but on the other hand the twenty-five monasteries were repeopled. The fall of Brussels, of Mechlin, and of Antwerp was delayed until 1585. At the beginning of this new year the States were in vain offering themselves to the weak fribble who wore the crown of France. They then in their disappointment turned to England; their embassy to Queen Elizabeth was headed by the tolerant Barnveld, who had succeeded Orange as the leading statesman of the commonwealth. But the Queen refused the proffered sovereignty, and was too prone to haggle in her money bargains with the States. She sent English troops to their aid, and also her favourite, Leicester, who disgusted the Dutch during the three years he abode among them as their commander. Meanwhile Parma was busy about the siege of Antwerp; here we see him with his Spanish and Italian levies at their very best, their valour in this instance not being stained by cruelty. The patriots, on the other hand, made a series of blunders hard to believe, and the guiding hand of Orange was now gone. As in the war of 1870, all the wisdom was on the one side, all the folly on the other. At last in August 1585 the great commercial capital fell once more into Spanish hands, when the best part of the burghers migrated to Amsterdam. The Northern provinces were to boast of a population of picked men, who had given up all for conscience; the future history of Holland, and what we now call Belgium, shows us in miniature the history (a striking contrast) of Northern and Southern Europe since 1600.

In the very next year, 1586, the Dutch, heavily taxed as they were, founded the new University of Franeker. Their politicians were proving themselves a match for any statesman in Europe, though laughed at by Leicester as a set of churls and tinkers. Already the division between the various parties of the commonwealth was perceptible; Barnveld, at the head of the merchants, advocated toleration, for which he was branded by the hot-headed Calvinist

democrats, especially strong at Utrecht, as an atheist; this abuse Orange had undergone before. To the Calvinists Leicester attached himself. But all these quarrels could not check the waxing prosperity of the land. Corn came in abundance from the Baltic, while the fishermen were never idle. There were more ships in Holland and Zealand than in the whole of England. New streets, docks, and houses were rising every day; and they were rising upon the ruin of the Southern provinces, Parma's conquests, where wild beasts were now prowling about, and starvation was felt outside the monasteries.

Sidney had already fallen at Zutphen; but in 1587 a stain, worse than any that this good knight could have dreamt of, besmirched the English name. The city of Deventer was, after Amsterdam and Antwerp, the most important trading town in the land; Leicester handed over the place to a brave Catholic officer, Stanley, and to twelve hundred wild Irishmen. Stanley was base enough to betray the town to the Spaniards; he was actuated, as Parma bears witness, by religious motives alone. At the same time another English renegade, York, handed over Zutphen to the enemy, who further acquired the city of Gelder by treason. It is not astonishing that England became most unpopular in the States. Later in the year Parma besieged and took Sluys; Ostend was now the only town on the coast of Flanders that remained to the patriots. All through the year Philip was bent on preparing for the invasion of England; and Parma, by an astounding series of lies, lulled Queen Elizabeth into false security. The Calvinists, the partisans of Leicester, at this time waxed so bold as to plot the capture of Leyden; one of their Protestant opponents remarked, "I had liever the Spanish Inquisition than the Geneva discipline."

At last came the famous year 1588. It beheld at its outset the Dutch quarrelling among themselves; Sonoy, half ruffian, half patriot, was besieged in a town by his own government. His party went so far as to send certain divines to Queen Elizabeth, entreating her to put down toleration, such as Barnveld loved. The Armada was now



on its way, and Prince Maurice of Orange, the son of the great William, was most earnest in his endeavours to bring the Dutch navy into line with that of England. Parma had toiled hard, so far as he could, to have his troops in readiness to aid the Spanish fleet, but the Dutch seamen (to whom be all honour) blocked every outlet that led to the open sea and England. Happily King Philip's folly was able to make Parma's wisdom of none effect. The Armada came up the Channel, fought, and then fled Northward; it was seen by all the world that Holland and England, the best of yoke-fellows, would henceforth be a match for Spain upon the sea, the future path to glory and might.

Still Parma was not disabled; in 1589 he continued to take towns from the Dutch. These now shared in the English raids upon the Spanish coast. Queen Elizabeth was not their only ally; the great Henry IV., still a Protestant, had now a right to wear the French crown, if he could only win it by the help of his trusty Huguenots. Besides him there was young Maurice of Orange, of whom little was as yet known, but who, by his chosen motto, had informed the world that a twig at last becomes a tree. King Philip had indeed heavy odds against him; for even Pope Sixtus V. could not always be relied on. The mutinies in the Spanish army, caused by lack of pay, were constant; while the Dutch army, though it numbered only twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, was always obedient and well paid; the navy numbered one hundred ships. Great was the contrast between the obedient and the revolted provinces. Antwerp, the old rival of Venice, had been long sinking; the remedy proposed by a well-known statesman for the city's mishaps was, more Jesuits and more catechising. Meanwhile the land to the North of Antwerp was a ferment of Protestant activity. The nobles had lost most of their old power, and into their places had stepped the burghers; the millers and bakers were earning a name for themselves in diplomacy, and were commanding the respect of the Sovereigns of France and England. The weak point of the Netherlandish Government was a too narrow pro-



vincialism and a too great respect for State rights, a state of things that was to last for two hundred years.

The year 1590 was a brilliant one for the cause of Progress. Parma, who had been unable to prevent the Dutch from surprising Breda, was forced by his master to send some of his best cavalry to the help of the League in France; these horsemen had shortly to race home from the field of Ivry. Later in the year Parma, obeying King Philip's orders, marched to raise the siege of Paris, and proved himself a better general than his only possible rival, King Henry IV. Meanwhile Prince Maurice was to have a rare chance in the absence of his mighty foe, now entangled in French campaigns. The youth had established a new system of warfare, paying particular heed to engineering and to the use of the spade; he had a great value for the musket. He put down all peculation, hitherto the bane of armies; and hanged his soldiers if they ever thieved. In 1591 Maurice took Zutphen and Deventer, cities half ruined by the foreign soldiery. He next gave a check to Parma, who, happily for the Cause, was now broken in health. Nymegen next fell into the power of the Dutch; in their ranks no less than ten of the Nassau breed were fighting at this time.

Rouen was now besieged by the French King, and Philip once more insisted that Parma should march to the rescue. This the great General did in January 1592, entirely against his own judgment, and once more he outwitted his renowned French rival. Yet Parma accomplished nothing abiding in these his last campaigns, while behind his back Maurice was deciding what the future limits of Holland should be. He took Steenwyck, where he gave the world a lesson in engineering; and then the more important Coeworden. Parma, who was now suffering from a wound received in the South, had done all that was possible for his master both in France and the Netherlands; his reward was the vilest ingratitude, and a proposal to supersede the mighty soldier-statesman. He died late in 1592, a broken-hearted man, but one who has left his mark on the map of Europe.

Early in 1593 Maurice, freed from the most dangerous of foes, took Gertruydenberg; the Spaniards, who should have relieved it, were wasting their time in besieging towns in France. He next assailed Groningen, far to the North, a city that in population came next to Antwerp and Amsterdam, and which had been fortified with the highest skill then known to the world. When this city was taken, the Dutch commonwealth was at last constituted as it was to stand in future.

In 1594 King Philip, worsted everywhere in the field, seemed to be turning his attention to assassination; his plots in France, England, and Holland alike came to light. In 1595 little was done, if we except the absolution granted at last by the Pope to Henry IV. In 1596 Philip made the Archduke Albert, his future son-in-law, Governor of the Netherlands. But the Dutch this year dealt a deadly stroke to their old tyrant; they sent three thousand sailors and more than two thousand soldiers on the great expedition against Cadiz; men who, with their English allies, destroyed one-third of Philip's effective navy, set fire to his noble city, and won millions of plunder. Great was the joy throughout Europe at the blow thus dealt to her great Despot, now nearing his end.

In 1597 Maurice won the battle of Turnhout against great odds, slaying two thousand Spaniards; later in the year he took nine strong cities and opened the navigation of the Rhine. In 1598 the Kings of France and Spain at last made peace. Philip now handed over the Netherlands to his daughter Isabella and the Archduke Albert; the Royal pair were wedded later in the year; the King of Spain died himself, after having for forty years committed crimes against mankind on a most gigantic scale; he it was who was the true founder of the new commonwealth of Holland; this, based upon commerce, was to be to the Atlantic what Venice had been to the Mediterranean.

The later Republic was already sharply criticised; Camden reports certain complaints in the English council, "that the Estates, whatsoever mask they put on, of defending Religion and their liberty, did take away all piety of Religion by

tolerating every Religion except the Roman; seeking nothing else but their owne commodity, imposing great accise upon victuals, embasing and corrupting of coyne, raying the value at their pleasure, and other suchlike cunning devices; and hereby they did with singular skill both maintaine warre, and by the warre grow rich, whereas all other Nations are impoverished by warre. Moreover, by erecting of Monopolies everywhere, they prevent all others of commerce, and (as all that favour a Democraticall government) do with tacite hatred prosecute Monarchies; have cast out all their Nobility, save one or two that are usefull unto them in the warres." They fight, "not with their owne blood, but with the blood of the English, French, and Scots, who for a little glory are too prodigall of their lives in the cause of other men."<sup>1</sup>

Another and younger Englishman gives us his opinion of the Dutch at this time, when Philip II. was still living. Wotton, the future Ambassador, already knew much about the nations of Europe, and had read the best authors.<sup>2</sup> He tells us that the men called of old by the Flemings "the blockish and hard-headed Hollanders" had now grown equal to the wisest Flemings, Italians, French, or Spaniards. "Have they not learned the means and ways to insinuate themselves into Princes' favours? . . . Have they not discovered a shorter way to the Indies? . . . Do they not daily encrease their Revenues? . . . Do not their subjects now handle a weapon as well as other nations? Do not the better sort amongst them, who heretofore never meddled with matters of State, match the wisest Politicians in counsel, and the best Statesmen of the world in their writings? . . . God grant that all the Princes of Christendom have not just occasion one day to curse the King of Spain for enforcing the States to know and use their strength."

In spite of the war, the Dutch had long traded with Spain; but that country, after conquering Portugal, became

<sup>1</sup> Camden, *Annals of Elizabeth*, 490.

<sup>2</sup> Wotton's book, *The State of Christendom*, was not printed until about sixty years later, in 1657. I have quoted from page 259. Wotton, even so early as this, had detected that Spain, mighty as she seemed, was in reality not so strong as France.

unwilling any longer to wink at the traffic of her rebel subjects with her harbours. Holland must find her own way to the East. This chance was given her by Linschoten, a cultured traveller who had lived in Goa and other Eastern climes for nearly thirteen years, and who published his discoveries in 1596, giving not a few maps and charts. Many a bold Dutch seaman followed the path thus revealed. Others hoped to find a Northern passage to Asia; Barendz and his comrades spent nearly ten months in the frozen wilderness of Nova Zembla, the survivors returning late in 1597. Others doubled the great Capes that round off Africa and South America; some reached Japan.

While this new commerce was flourishing, the war was languishing. But it blazed up once more in 1600, when Maurice won the great battle of Nieuport over the Archduke Albert. In 1601 the Spaniards began the siege of Ostend, the longest on record after that of Troy; the besiegers were much hampered by the constant mutinies in their camps, the rebellious soldiers not heeding even the thunders of the Church. But help came from an unexpected quarter; a young Genoese named Spinola, who had not been hitherto known as a soldier, offered to take Ostend if he were entrusted with the supreme command. He went on destroying the town bit by bit, while the means of repairing it were forwarded by sea from Holland. He failed on his first encounter with his future great enemy, Maurice of Orange; but in the summer of 1604 Ostend, or what was left of it, had to yield, after a siege of three years.<sup>1</sup> Maurice had meanwhile conquered Sluys, which was better than Ostend. King James of England, who had succeeded Queen Elizabeth, now made peace with Philip III. of Spain, treading in the steps of the King of France. Holland therefore now stood by herself, four-square to all the world. She had much to complain of as regarded King James's naval policy, which too much resembled piracy; in 1605 his officials strove to save an army and fleet from utter ruin when the Spaniards were taking shelter in Dover from their redoubtable enemy. On the land the two great

<sup>1</sup> It was said "*Ostendæ erasit fatalis Spinola spinam.*"



Generals seemed to be most fairly matched against each other.

Meanwhile at the other end of the world the Dutch were holding their own, their seamen taking any odds on the water. The King of Bantam was delivered from the Portuguese in 1602. Trade was opened with Ceylon; one famous Admiral, Heemskerk by name, took a ship worth a million of florins, carrying eight times the number of his own crew. He then bore his national flag to Macao; it was already well known in Java, Sumatra, and Malacca. Ambassadors came from the East to visit Prince Maurice in his camp. This year a charter was granted to the Dutch East India Company, which was to be governed by directors; its fleets were sent South every year. In 1605 they took Amboyna from the Portuguese, and made a treaty with the King of Ternate, who promised to trade with none but the Dutch. The clove monopoly was now in their hands, and their European enemies were all but entirely driven out of the Moluccas. In 1607 a charter was granted to a West India Company trading to North America; England and Holland were evidently destined to be rivals in every quarter of the globe; Protestants could now afford to quarrel among themselves.

In this year, 1607, proposals for peace were made; Philip III. had not the tough obstinacy of his father, and, besides, all power was in the hands of the Duke of Lerma. Barnveld wished for peace, and an armistice was made. But first the bold Heemskerk had led a Dutch fleet to Gibraltar, where he gained a glorious victory, though with the loss of his own life. Two or three thousand Spaniards were slaughtered, many of them when struggling in the water. Heemskerk is the first of a line of renowned Dutch Admirals which was to be prolonged through the whole Century.

Later in the year commissioners came to treat of peace. Pope Paul V. was most anxious that France and Spain should combine against the detestable heretics; but Henry IV. was too good a statesman to yield to this folly; he had a lingering hope that the Dutch would come under his



sceptre, a glorious prospect that had been marred by the weakness of his two last predecessors. He envied Holland her trading Companies, and he well knew the worth of colonies. Unhappily, Prince Maurice and Barnveld took opposite sides on the great question, and the Calvinist pulpits, strong for the Prince, were thundering against Spain; the Zealanders took the same view. The Court of Madrid insisted on the toleration of the Catholic religion, even if the King's sovereignty were renounced. Spinola, devoid of Spanish bigotry, had no belief in the diplomatists employed by his master; it was in vain attempted to bribe Prince Maurice. In the meantime fresh triumphs had been won by the Dutch in Malacca, and thus the minds of the Spaniards inclined more to peace.

In 1608 Spinola, with other envoys of his master, came to the Hague, and there met Prince Maurice and Barnveld. The great battle was over the India trade, whence it seemed hopeless to exclude the Dutch. They had one hundred and sixty ships constantly engaged upon distant commerce; their East Indian profits were increasing every year. They were firm, moreover, in their resolve to keep the Scheldt closed; Antwerp must never again be a rival to their own cities. The Court of Madrid was stubborn as ever; after twenty months of negotiation it was still asking for the re-establishment of Catholicism in the Netherlands and for a renunciation of the Indian trade. On the other hand, Prince Maurice, unlike his father, could not rise to the height of toleration in religion; his partisans were denouncing Barnveld and Arminius. Yet five out of the Seven United Provinces—Gelderland, Friesland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Utrecht—were said to be mostly Catholic. Pamphlets flew about, and the Peace party was bitter against the War party; the sums requisite to keep up a fighting army were enormous. Yet the Calvinist clergy and the lower classes were still shouting for war.

But, for all that, in 1609 the great Truce of twelve years was made, after debates that had lasted more than two years. The States thereby secured the India trade, and did not grant Catholic worship. This small commonwealth

had now taken its place among the nations of earth. Toleration would come more readily if not dictated by foreign tyrants; it was now earnestly recommended by the French envoy, an old Leaguer; while the English envoy thought that it was leading to Atheism. Thanksgiving services were celebrated all over the land; the obedient Netherlanders opened their arms to the revolvers. The Dutch army, which embraced French, Scotch, English, and Germans, was kept up on a reduced scale; the revenue was estimated at more than seven millions of florins, and handsome salaries were paid to the Orange chiefs.

But civil war was raging in the Dutch schools. Gomarus the Calvinist had been attacking the mild Arminius, who was now dead. The former was backed by the clergy, the latter by the magistrates, with Barnveld at their head. Prince Maurice stirred up the Calvinist clergy, who stood for Democracy as against the burgher Oligarchy. This was the one dark spot likely to trouble the future; in 1609 the land was prospering mightily; it might be said of her statesmen, as later of Chatham, that they had made war and commerce to flourish at the same time. Holland had the carrying trade of Europe, and was to enjoy it for forty years longer. Amsterdam was outstripping Venice, and a famous new Bank attracted the confidence of business men. Schools thrived, while beggary was put down; the spoils of the Church were not wasted, as in England. Learning was seated firmly in the Dutch Universities, which drew youths from afar; Scaliger and Grotius were known all over Europe; international law and medicine struck their deepest roots in Holland. Nowhere else did such a swarm of books issue from the press. Chroniclers were busy recording the immortal struggle of the last fifty years. It was a Zelander who invented the telescope and the microscope; a professor of Leyden introduced the true method of measuring the degrees of longitude and latitude. In Holland the best nautical and astronomical instruments were made. What was done in military engineering, what progress was made in maritime discovery, has been already related. New vegetables and

food for cattle were discovered, much to England's advantage rather later. Assuredly Protestantism, as seen in this small water-soaked land, can hardly be called a clog upon man's intellect, especially if we contrast Holland with Spain. The dominion of the East had already passed from the latter to the former; fifty ships of war, fortresses guarded by 4000 pieces of artillery and 10,000 soldiers and sailors, obeyed the orders of a dozen men sitting round a green table at home.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch were quite ready to make use of the labours of others. England had discovered the way by sea to Archangel about sixty years before this time, and the Dutch were eager to share in the profits of this great venture. Their countryman Massa, who lived long at Moscow (he has recorded its revolutions), describes the rivalry between England and Holland, each wishing to get hold of the traffic to Persia by sailing down the Volga and the Caspian Sea. It is confessed that the Dutch were not so firmly united among themselves as the English, which was a drawback to the former. The Czar, eager for help against his Polish enemy, was now sending envoys to Holland, and these were most honourably welcomed.<sup>2</sup>

The Dutch were more prosperous than their separated brethren. Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador at Brussels in 1612, says that Amsterdam within the last twenty years had increased from 70,000 to 120,000, while Antwerp in the same time had decreased from 130,000 to 80,000. The commerce of the two cities had followed the same course.<sup>3</sup> Spanish rule had blighted all, much as it was now doing in Italy. Still Holland, as regarded toleration in religion, could not quite rise to the level of Transylvania or France. Those who sympathised with Spain in religion had to bear some persecution from the Dutch revolvers. Sasbold Vosmeer had been for some time Vicar Apostolic in the United Provinces, but found the clergy diminishing; there were 600 of them about 1580, but only 170 thirty years

<sup>1</sup> Motley, *Life of Barnveld*, ii. 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire des guerres de la Moscovie*, par Isaac Massa, ii. xlv.-lxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Hageman's *Relations inédites d'Ambassadeurs Vénitiens*, 32.

later. He became the target for the malice of the Jesuits, who, as persecutors of their brethren, played the same part in Holland as in England. Going to Rome, he was constrained by Clement VIII. to be ordained Archbishop of Philippi, a pseudonym for Utrecht; this Pope had a most weighty influence upon Holland, France, and Poland, all three, not to mention the Molinist controversy. The States-General banished their new Prelate as guilty of high treason; the Jesuits are said to have denounced him to the Government, having the strongest objection to the new hierarchy set up by the Pope. "The harm done by Protestants," wrote Sasbold, "is less than the affliction caused by the Jesuits." The regulars and seculars were on the worst terms; Utrecht and Harlem were the headquarters of the latter body, who complained that the Jesuits sowed only where others had already sown. Sasbold mourned that absolution was granted most easily, and thus men were encouraged to sin against their consciences; discipline became a farce, and the common folk learned to believe nothing. We are listening to a forerunner of the Jansenists; he had a contest lasting twenty-one months with the Nuncio at Brussels.

In 1614 we hear that of the former 140 Canons of Utrecht 40 in all survived; there were 60 places of worship in the city, and 500 in the province, where the watchfulness of the magistrates could be eluded. There were but 17 priests in the sees of Groningen and Leeuwarden. There had been 440 religious houses in the United Provinces before the Reformation; in 1614 two abbeys alone rendered any service. In this year Sasbold died, much mourned by Paul V. His successor was Rovenius, who presided over a persecuted Church; Holland had much toleration for Jews and Socinians, but little at this time for Catholics; in this matter she did not rise so high as France. A sort of nuns called Klopjes (knocking sisters) were of much use in summoning meetings and giving warning of possible dangers; these ladies were soon under the ban of the Government. A long string of edicts was put forth against them, and was renewed in Friesland so late as



1667. Later came Archbishop Neercassel, a great friend of all the Jansenist leaders; in his time the Propaganda issued many decrees, constraining the Jesuits to pay due obedience to their Superiors. The Prelate wrote a book, much approved by the one side and much assailed by the other; he was pronounced a Saint by Innocent XI.<sup>1</sup>

The persecution directed against Catholics by Holland was a mere pin-prick, if we compare it with the ruthless severity of England and Sweden, and also of many of the German States. In Holland Catholics and Protestants had stood shoulder to shoulder against the Inquisition, and both alike had furnished martyrs to the great Cause. In Holland no meddling Pope had thrown down a challenge to all good patriots; if attempts were made to upset the government, these came from within and not from without. Hence Protestantism in Holland took her mildest form as a ruling power, with the one exception of Transylvania.

In the very year of the Truce the Duchy of Cleves lost its Sovereign and was claimed by two German rivals, while a bold Hapsburg Bishop secured the chief fortress in the land. Thus Protestants and Catholics were once more ranged against each other; this was one of the many outbreaks in Germany, all leading up to the future crash of 1618, long foretold by the great Dutch statesman. King Henry IV. at once saw his chance, and having been enriched by a long peace, soon had great armies on foot; he reckoned upon Barnveld as his trustiest ally, and in vain entreated him to come to Paris. The obedient Netherlandish provinces, under the Archduke Albert, were tempting game; King Henry and Maurice of Orange, should they act together, would be more than a match for Spinola. But the great French monarch was murdered in 1610 when setting out for the war; his death was ruinous to France—still more ruinous to lands lying beyond France. Barnveld, now the first statesman in Europe, found both England and France alike untrustworthy at the moment when the peace of Europe depended upon united action.

<sup>1</sup> For the state of Catholics in Holland at this time see Neale's *Jansenist Church of Holland*, especially pp. 119 and 134.



At this moment the States were troubled with their first internal commotion; one Kanter deposed the magistrates of Utrecht, while he talked of reducing the taxes and of restoring a church to the Catholics for their public worship. It seems that at this time one-half of the population of the States belonged to that Creed.<sup>1</sup> But the rising was put down, and an Arminian Government replaced a combination of Catholics and Calvinists. In the same year Barnveld was able to restore the disputed Duchy of Cleves to the Protestant Princes. In 1611 he was much harassed by King James I., who was full of fury against the theological ideas of Vorstius, the successor of Arminius at Leyden.

In 1614 Maurice and Spinola seemed on the point of fighting in the Duchy of Cleves, but peace was preserved, though much injury was inflicted upon the German Protestants. Peace was not so easily kept at home; the Calvinists—perhaps the only sect that could have made head against Alva and the Inquisition—had now turned their fiery zeal upon other opponents. They were scandalised by the Remonstrance, a document embodying the Five Points, by which the Arminians set such store. To these the Calvinists opposed Seven Points of their own, proclaiming God's Predestination in the crudest form, and King James of England fanned the theological flame. In 1616 recourse was had in the towns and villages to bludgeons and brickbats; the great mass of the Protestants, and also Prince Maurice, were Calvinists, while the strength of the Arminians, fostered by Barnveld, lay in the magistracy of the towns; Democracy and Oligarchy stood face to face. Men refused to go any longer to their parish churches, but set up conventicles in barns. Thus things were going ill at home, while abroad both the French and the English allies were dazzled with a Spanish bait; to each of these Courts an Infanta was promised, and the cause of Holland was therefore thrust into the background. Meanwhile the grim Thirty Years' War was hard at hand.

<sup>1</sup> Motley, *Life of Barnveld*, i. 331.

In 1616 Barnveld was sending troops to the aid of Savoy, and as many as three thousand soldiers to the aid of Venice; so long as a State made head against the Spanish giant, it mattered little what the religion of that State was. The great pilot further overreached the Royal English pedant in a bargain, and thus regained three important Netherlandish towns. The fateful year 1618 came, and Barnveld, who had long foretold it, was all alive; but he got little encouragement from his Italian allies in his schemes for throwing the Empire into the melting-pot. He was becoming more and more the mark of hatred at home; his love of tolerance was his great sin in the eyes of his Calvinist countrymen; yet a large proportion of the Dutch still owned the Pope. The English envoy was shocked at Barnveld publishing to all the world that in Holland a man could live and die a heretic unpunished. The Arminian statesman, on whom the great William of Orange had leaned when founding the mighty new Commonwealth, was now denounced by thousands as a traitor, bought by Spain; he and his family were accused of every crime.

Yet Spain was at this moment discovering that she could not carry the theological war into the enemy's country as King Philip III. was now proposing to do. The Archduke, who saw Holland close at hand, wrote back that her internal religious differences had not led to the conversion of any of her sons to the true faith. She had always been blessed with a good stock of priests, mostly Jesuits. But to send more would do more harm than good; it might be found out, and then they might all be expelled or persecuted. A paper was now sent to Madrid with the news that some members of the Council of State in the Netherlands (they may well have been secret Catholics) were sick of war, and were quite willing to have an independent Spanish sovereign. If the Catholics had in each town a church and free exercise of religion they would 'soon be in the majority. But Barnveld (the supposed traitor!) must not hear a whisper of the plot.<sup>1</sup>

Holland was not to undergo the doom now overhanging

<sup>1</sup> Motley, *Life of Barnveld*, ii. 207-211.

Germany; but she was to lose her wisest pilot. Prince Maurice in 1618 effected a State-stroke, placing his own garrisons in the various towns. Barnveld was speedily thrown into prison, while the deputies of his own State in vain protested. The Synod of Dort, which was now opened, was not likely to do much for the victim; it held 180 sessions in seven months, declared the Calvinist confessions to be infallible, and ousted Arminians from all clerical and academical posts. While it lasted, Prince Maurice was making changes in the magistracies, as well as in the garrisons; but the Stadtholder found that some of the towns were still stedfastly Arminian. Thus ended the gloomy year 1618, fraught with evil to millions of mankind.

Early in 1619 Barnveld's trial began; it somewhat resembles that of Laud, in the wanton insults offered to the victim. One of the charges made against the statesman was, that he had striven to give the Catholics the public exercise of their religion; his tolerance, great as it was for his age, had never gone quite so far as this. He avowed that he had worked hard to secure some mercy for his Arminian countrymen; he disclaimed all plots against his enemy, Prince Maurice. But the patriot had to die, and to know that his property was confiscated; he walked to the scaffold stern and unbending up to the last, while his friend Grotius showed some weakness. Barnveld lay in his grave; Grotius in prison for life, as it was hoped; the Dutch fanatics had indeed been stoning their prophets. Four years later, Barnveld's sons formed a plot to murder Prince Maurice; it failed, and was of course set down to the credit of the Arminians. Fourteen of the conspirators were put to death.<sup>1</sup>

The truce with Spain ended in the summer of 1621; in that year the Archduke Albert died, but his wife, the Infanta, governed the obedient Netherlands for many years longer, and was very popular. In the rival State, Barnveld's loss was speedily felt. Prince Maurice, not very successful

<sup>1</sup> Here Motley fails me, from whom I have taken nearly the whole of this Chapter, so far. He has been the best of guides.

in his last years, died in 1625, and was soon succeeded as Stadtholder by his half-brother, Prince Frederick Henry. He is less known commonly than the three other great heroes of his house; yet he had William the Silent for his father, Coligny for his grandfather. The new Prince had been trained to arms by his brother, either the first or the second Captain in Europe, but, unlike that brother, he rather leant to the Arminians; his wife, more ambitious than himself, hoped to raise the power of the Orange family higher than ever. Breda was lost in the summer of 1625, but a most valuable Mexican silver fleet was taken in 1628. In the next year the Orange chief starved out Bois-le-Duc. King Philip IV., suspecting that he was playing a losing game, was always eager to renew the truce with his rebel subjects, and among other agents he employed the great Rubens. But Holland looked more to France, from whom she borrowed vast sums of money in 1624; the new Stadtholder was half a Frenchman. Richelieu made use of his position to gain for the men of Bois-le-Duc the free exercise of their religion, but the States would not hear of any public worship. They stood high; Gustavus Adolphus declared that in Holland was the theatre of all the negotiations of Europe, while at the same time she was making conquests in Brazil, a new field of exertion. Her home population was not quite so large as that of the obedient States, which numbered nearly four millions. But there freedom was lacking; the Spanish Government would not convoke the national council after 1634, when the last of the Archdukes had passed away. Spinola—great captain and great administrator—died in 1630; in his time Dunkirk became a nest of corsairs, preying on Dutch commerce. The misery of the Southern country was great; the Infanta had to pledge her jewels to pay the troops; there was much grumbling against the Spanish yoke, and it well might happen that the obedient provinces would join their revolted brethren.

When Gustavus bore down on Germany, he was much discontented with the small sums of money that Holland sent him. She had not his tolerant spirit; she was now

persecuting the inhabitants of Bois-le-Duc, while Spain persecuted those among them who were Protestants. In vain was it attempted to bring in mutual toleration; the luckless peasants were taxed by both sides. In a more honourable field, the Dutch won a great battle in 1631, making 4000 prisoners. Next year the Prince of Orange took Maestricht, where his English soldiers much distinguished themselves; it was under him that men like Monk and Fairfax learnt their trade.

Things were going so ill for Spain that the great Belgian nobles now formed a plot to shake off the Spanish yoke, but it ended in failure. According to the new scheme, France and Holland were to partition the country, and to guarantee the Catholic religion. The names of the high-born plotters were sent to King Philip IV. in 1633. As to the proposed scheme of partition, it was always floating before Richelieu and the Prince of Orange; the latter seemed to be entrusted by his countrymen with the fullest powers, as to dividing the land.

Howell saw Holland in 1622. He admired the discipline of the troops: "not one dares to take so much as an apple off a tree or a root out of the earth; the reason is, that they are punctually paid their pay; else they would be insolent enough. There are taxes upon every acre of ground." Seven hundred busses sent to our coasts return above a million in herrings every autumn. Gentry among them is very thin, and as in all Democracies little respected. Their soil is so fat that one cow will give eight quarts of milk a day. Not one town is very poor, since they assign every town some firm staple commodity, as to Dort the German wines and corn, to Middelburg the French and Spanish wines, to Trevere the Scotch trade; Leyden has an University, Harlem hath some privilege for knitting and weaving, Rotterdam has the English cloth; the Jews go without any mark of outward distinction, unlike the usage of Rome and Venice. The Dutch are renowned for curious quadrants, chimes, and dials. You may hear seven or eight languages spoken upon their Bourses; the women can bargain as well as the men. Charles V. said that the



Netherlands seemed to him one continued town. The Walloon is quick and sprightly, and gaudy in apparel, like his French neighbour; the Fleming and Brabanter more slow and sparing of speech; the Hollander still slower—surly, homely in clothing, of very few words, and heavy in action.<sup>1</sup> The people grow rich by that which useth to impoverish others, even by War; for prizes and booties abroad go to make a good part of their wealth.<sup>2</sup>

Mun, a famous English merchant, gives us his thoughts upon Holland about 1630. He points out that her provinces are the magazines and storehouses for most places of Christendom, whereby the wealth of the Dutch is enormous. They seem not the same people that were once under the Spanish yoke; their condition then was mean and turbulent. It seems a wonder to the world that such a small country, not fully so big as two of our best shires, having little natural wealth, victuals, or timber, should notwithstanding possess these articles in such plenty, that they can sell them to other nations. The herring fishery is their principal gold mine, whereby thousands of families are kept at work; if this foundation perished, all would go. Ships are to the Dutch what ploughs are to the English. So great is the craft of these traders that they lately tried to get hold of the island of Lewis in the Orcades; this would have spared their ships the voyage home in front of Dunkirk. Their lands are now become too little for this swelling people; yet they bring in thousands of foreigners to serve them in war; even these soldiers have to spend all their gains in Holland.<sup>3</sup> Mun holds up this shrewd and hard-working race as a pattern to his lazy and wasteful countrymen; twenty years later, matters were to be much altered.

Sir William Brereton went through Holland in 1634; he describes an attempt, made by a burgomaster of Rotterdam, to prevent working on the Sabbath; but the brewers quashed the new system. Here two companies of the townsmen were seen feasting; hardly one sober man could be found

<sup>1</sup> Howell's *Letters*, 93-95.

<sup>2</sup> His *Foreign Travel*, 169.

<sup>3</sup> Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, 101, 109-111.

among them, as they shouted, sang, roared, skipped, and leapt. A boor in the country might be worth £500 a year, yet would live the life of a drudge and go about like a clown. The poor in Holland were well tended; at Harlem there was a guest-house for the sick; a home for fatherless children; a house of correction where the idle were kept at work; every congregation relieved its own poor. At Leyden seven hundred orphans were boarded in one guest-house. Maimed soldiers were also provided for. The States maintained an army of 100,000 men; eighty men-of-war kept the sea, while eighty lesser ships patrolled the rivers; galley slaves were known. The University of Leyden boasted twenty-two professors; it was much resorted to by Germans, since the Great War was now raging in their country; many came for pleasure rather than for learning. Every sort of plant was to be found in the physic garden; there was also an anatomy school; the fees of the physicians were regulated by the State. The Jews had three synagogues in Amsterdam, and a burial ground of their own, three miles from the city. Their worship, like that of the Lutherans, Arminians, and Anabaptists, was only connived at; the Papists were the most restrained in their liberty, and had no churches. French and English churches were maintained by the State; the amount of toleration differed in each town. Large sums came from the customs and excise. In one week five hundred ships would sail out of the Texel; but the air of Amsterdam was bad, and there was a scarcity of water; the coals came from Newcastle; grand houses were built upon trees as a firm foundation, so marshy was the soil.<sup>1</sup>

In 1635 France as well as Holland declared war on the King of Spain, stirring up his subjects to revolt by proclamations in French and Flemish. But the first campaign ended in little but the cruel sack of Tirlemont. Next year, the harsh usage of the Bois-le-Duc peasants went on; the Dutch hunted down the Catholic clergy in those parts, and in one day forty-seven waggons, full of fugitive priests, monks, and nuns were seen to enter Antwerp. In 1637 the almost

<sup>1</sup> Brereton's *Travels*, Chetham Society.

impregnable Breda was re-taken by Orange; Spinola had been kept before it for nine months, but the Dutch mastered it in as many weeks. They had gained this year one victory near Goa, another in Guinea., and had cleared a hundred leagues of the coast of Brazil, driving off the subjects of Spain; besides this, the great Tromp was now installed in a command worthy of him. In 1639 this rough seaman chastised the corsairs of Dunkirk, slaying seventeen hundred of them. Rather later in the year, the French persuaded the Dutch to crush a Spanish fleet in an English harbour; Tromp took or sank forty ships, and slew seven thousand men. In the same year (it marks a turn of the tide), France was fastening her claws upon Alsace; Grotius avowed that Holland was now but an appendix to France. Happily for mankind, the Hapsburg power was slowly decaying. The States-General now refused to look at any letter to them that was not directed *Celsi et præpotentes Domini*; the Emperor called this a scandalous claim. France had lately conferred the title of Highness on the Prince of Orange.<sup>1</sup>

In 1640 Portugal shook off the Spanish yoke, and sent an embassy to Holland. The Dutch East India Company seized on Malacca and part of Ceylon, while more of Brazil was captured. These were all Portuguese possessions, but for all that Holland would not slacken her grip of them; Richelieu strove hard to keep the peace between these two powers, which were both enemies of Spain. His right hand, the Prince of Orange, seemed to rise higher and higher; he was now Stadtholder of six provinces out of the seven, as his brother Maurice had been. The cadets and collaterals of the House of Orange had to pay strict obedience to their great chief. In 1641 he married his son, the boy William, to the eldest daughter of Charles I., a girl of eleven. Here for the first time the House of Orange obtained an alliance with Royalty—a matter which was to bode ill to the Commonwealth in the next Century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The States called him "*de doorluchtige hooch geboren Fürst*"; they took to themselves in 1639 the title of *Hooge Mogende Heeren*, Scott's *Hogan mogans*.

<sup>2</sup> I have taken my matter, since Barnveld's death, from Waddington, *La République des Provinces Unies*, published in 1895.

In 1647 the moderate and loyal Frederick Henry died, after a long enjoyment of power, and in the next year Spain acknowledged the complete independence of the Dutch at the Peace of Munster; happy had it been for her had she done this forty years earlier. We now see the last of Holland in her full tide of prosperity, when she had no rival on the Ocean, when her herring fishery employed one-fifth of the population, when Amsterdam was said to be built on the carcasses of herring, when Dutch merchandise, embarked on the sea every year, was valued at a milliard of francs. The lucky traders had Norway for their forest, Poland for their granary, India for their garden. England as yet did not dream of rivalling them, and knew not her full strength. Frugality was the watchword of the Dutch; there was no Court to encourage waste of the national revenues. The women were as chaste as the men were brave; the children were brought up with stern severity. The Catholic religion was somewhat hampered; but in the largest towns Mass was openly said, and in Amsterdam a church was made over to this hated sect, much to the joy of Louis XIV. They were employed as officers, and one of them remarked: "If the soul is popish, the sword is not the less patriotic" (*gueuse*).<sup>1</sup> The Jews had full tolerance, and, as scoffers remarked, for a very good reason.<sup>2</sup>

It was most important to draw new and good citizens from all quarters. The stern Calvinism, paid by the State, meddled but little with outsiders; but it fostered strong patriotism. The lowest seamen, if there was an interval of rest in a fight, would throw themselves on their knees to ask God's blessing. In Holland the first private gazettes were printed, and soon won an European renown. They speedily made their way as far as Turkey and India, and were shortly denounced by the French King as most insolent; by them secrets of State were laid bare to the

<sup>1</sup> Pontalis, *Jean de Witte*, i. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 562.

D'un Hollandois avec un Juif  
Assez convenable est l'image.  
C'est comme la graisse et le suif,  
Ou bien le beurre et le fromage.

world.<sup>1</sup> Pamphlets were as numerous as gazettes. But these blessings had to be paid for; taxation, both direct and indirect, was most heavy; still this fell upon the nobles as well as upon the middle class. Gueldreland was the most aristocratic of all the Seven Provinces, and Zealand was the one most devoted to the Princes of Orange.

William II., the son of Frederick Henry, aimed at changing his office of Stadtholder into an hereditary monarchy. To this end he allied himself with Mazarin, and wished to attack Spain once more. He attempted a State-stroke in 1650, arrested some of the deputies, but failed in his assault upon Amsterdam, the headquarters of the opposite party. Happily for the State, he died in the same year, and shortly afterwards his widow, the haughtiest of Princesses, gave birth to a son, the famous William III., the last of the great Orange statesmen. Two other houses alone have brought forth so many men of mark within a short space of time; these are the six generations of Wessex Kings, who accomplished the unity of England within one hundred and seventy years after 800; and the long line of early Turkish Sultans, who reigned for almost three centuries after 1300.

The States of Holland now took the direction of affairs, making the Hague their capital; for their Minister they had the Grand Pensionary, named for five years. Here, at this moment, might be seen the best reproduction in the world of the old Roman Republic of the Curii and Duilii; with two great improvements on the old model—the absence of slavery and the presence of Christianity. John de Witte, a youth of twenty-seven, sprung from a noble house, became Grand Pensionary in 1653, and swayed the Seven Provinces for nineteen troublous years; during this time his meagre allowances forced him to study economy. Austere in public life, he charmed men and women alike in his private circle; one of his merits was, that he always favoured the toleration of Catholics.<sup>2</sup> He found himself involved in a war with England, at that time most overbearing; the memory of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the wretched English gazettes, twenty years after this time, as described by Lord Macaulay.

<sup>2</sup> He believed in the maxim, *Gallum amicum, non vicinum*.



massacre of Amboyna was still rankling in the English breast. The enemy's new Navigation Act had struck a crushing blow at the Dutch carrying trade, and soon Tromp and Blake were at their deadly work. De Witte speedily put the Dutch navy, which had been much neglected, on a sound footing; but the country suffered fearfully; work was suspended, and there was a great emigration into Flanders. One consequence of the English war was, that Portugal was now able to take back Brazil from the Dutch. Holland's best days were in 1650 and earlier. The ministers began to thunder on behalf of the infant Prince William, who might haply turn out as stout a bulwark as the famous French Maid. But Cromwell, before he would grant peace, insisted on the exclusion of the House of Orange from all power; this was a sore grievance to most of the United Provinces. The Calvinist preachers soothed their outraged feelings by enforcing certain disabilities on the unlucky Catholics. Holland followed Cromwell's example in making a huge collection for the persecuted Vaudois. She made up for her losses elsewhere by stripping the Portuguese of Ceylon and Macassar, and by dealing a shrewd blow to Sweden, then in all her glory.

The Princess of Orange took a threatening tone with the States in 1660, the year of her brother's restoration; and a great outcry was raised in Holland, when three of the judges of Charles I. were handed over to English vengeance; a complaisance which much damaged De Witte.<sup>1</sup> This did not prevent Charles II. from making a most shameful war on Holland in 1664, when De Ruyter, the man of fifteen great naval battles, showed what he was. On shore, he read the Bible every evening to his wife and children, and used to lead the Psalms, having a good voice. He was a warm friend to De Witte, and an enemy to the Orange party; few great men, after so many years of public life, have left so stainless a record as this champion of his country against the Spaniards, English, Swedes, and French.

<sup>1</sup> It is not generally known that Cornet Joyce sought refuge in Holland, and was not given up.

The Grand Pensionary, in 1666, proved himself able alike to wage war abroad and to smite Orange plotters at home; he now pressed his great French ally to stir up a revolt in the South of Ireland. In the next year peace was about to be signed, England gaining New York and New Jersey, when De Witte struck a last sudden blow, burning the English fleet at Chatham. His next exploit was to save the Spanish Netherlands from their too overbearing neighbour, uniting for this purpose in 1667 Holland, England, and Sweden, and putting his full trust in Temple the English envoy; the Triple Bond was the result of these sound measures. De Witte might well be called "the eye, the tongue, the arm of Holland"; nothing could escape him.

The aforesaid Temple has left one of the best sketches we possess of the old Holland. He describes the famous Bank of Amsterdam, the greatest treasure house then in the world; the bars of gold and silver were lodged in a vault under the Stadthouse, and the tickets and bills connected with this vast store were current in many trading parts of the earth. The Bank's success lay in the absolute security afforded to strangers in Holland, the refuge of all the distressed. Temple delights to dwell on the brave show made by the public buildings, the arsenals, canals, bastions, and hospitals, where worn-out seamen ended their days. Almost every spot of ground in the land was improved; no country in the world of so small a size had so vast a population. Amsterdam had lately spent much money in building a New Town, far handsomer than the old one. The cities were adorned with regular plantations of trees. Interest was low and land was dear; sales were duly registered, as had been the practice since the time of Charles V.; forgery was sternly punished, and common beggars were drafted either into the workhouse or the hospital. But at the same time there was the most cruel hardship and variety of taxes ever known under any government, while the magistrates had to bear their share of all burdens. The officers who collected the taxes were so well paid that there was no corruption. Never did any country buy so much

and consume so little. They sent abroad the best of their butter, and bought for their own use the cheapest kind out of Ireland or Northern England. The chief foreign articles of their own consumption were French wine and brandy. The province of Holland alone had a debt of sixty-five millions of guelders, on which she paid interest at four per cent.<sup>1</sup> Land usually brought in only two per cent. Men aimed, not at titles of honour, but at being employed by the State. More silver was seen in the hands of the Dutch common folk than brass in Spain or France. All passions, except avarice, were well restrained; there was little jealousy, revenge, or quarrelling; love was barely understood. They drank much, owing to their foggy air, though not until the afternoon, when even Dutchmen ceased to toil. Their statesmen were most different from the Princes of Germany, whose drunken habits Temple could not bear. "Holland is a country," he says, "where the earth is better than the air, and profit more in request than honour; where there is more sense than wit; more good nature than good humour, more wealth than pleasure; where a man would choose rather to travel than to live." He enlarges on the homely habits of De Ruyter and De Witte, who walked about the streets on foot, as most of the magistrates did. The men of Zealand were the bravest at sea, the men of Nimeguen the bravest on land; most of the towns affected some peculiar staple, and had their own manufactures, as Delft boasted its porcelain, Sardam its shipbuilding. Crowds of travellers were allured to come and see the happy land. Toleration was extended to all except the Catholics, for Dutch statesmen disliked the Papal jurisdiction over their subjects; yet they connived at the Catholic worship, which was thus made as free and easy, though not so cheap and open, as the other religions; hence the Catholics seemed to be a sound piece of the State and fast jointed with the rest. The Calvinist clergy enjoyed no tithes, but received salaries from the government. The ferocity of religious quarrels seemed to be appeased and softened in Holland; men lived together like citizens of the world; the power of Religion

<sup>1</sup> The guelder was about two shillings.

lay in every man's heart. She might do more good in other places, but she did less hurt in Holland. The East India Company had been a rare success; it had forced the Eastern Princes to exclude all other nations from their commerce, and had erected forts on these distant shores. It was a commonwealth rather than a trade, able to dispose of thirty thousand soldiers in the Indies. Rather later, Britain was here to take Holland for her model. But ever since the Peace of Munster other countries were encroaching upon the Dutch monopoly; Holland might perhaps share the fate of Venice. Temple foretells that if the Prince of Orange were made Sovereign, Holland would soon become a very mean country; this came true fourscore years later; the trade of the Dutch had already begun to decay.

Louis XIV. had never forgiven the check given to his policy by De Witte; a war of tariffs broke out in 1671. Yet the two countries should have remained united; there were 2000 French established in Amsterdam alone, and French plays were often acted there. England had never pardoned the burning of her fleet at Chatham. The Swedes, "those Gascons of the North," were open to French bribes, and many of the German Princes had been won over by the Great King. He seemed to have made all secure. Since the last peace, Holland had reduced her army, and had little more than 30,000 men; if De Witte proposed measures of defence, these were always hampered. Early in 1672 Louis, breaking with the old traditions of his house, declared war against Holland.<sup>1</sup> The odds were terrible; the two greatest soldiers in Europe headed the invaders, who came by way of Cologne (this De Witte had in vain proposed to seize), and forced the passage of the Rhine. De Ruyter won a victory over the French and English fleets at Solebay; here his friend Cornelius de Witte, the delegate of the States, though tortured by the gout, sat on deck in an arm-chair, while the English balls were crashing around him. Like an old Roman Prætor, he was guarded by twelve halberdiers, one half of whom were killed or wounded before the end of the day.

<sup>1</sup> He inscribed on a medal, "*Evexi, sed discutiam.*"



But Amsterdam had to be saved; this was done by breaking the dykes and ruining the fine gardens of the suburbs; the peasants in some places rose against the magistrates, who were enforcing this stern measure; for two years Holland remained under water. She seemed at this time to have only one ally, the Elector of Brandenburg. All suffered alike; the son of Grotius told Louvois, who had offered him protection for his house: "I had rather see the fire in it, than be exempt from the evils inflicted on the meanest of my countrymen." But the Princely faction was raising its head; the cry was general, *Orange op, Wit onder*; the two colours, Orange and White, could not blend at such a crisis. Young Prince William was made Captain General, and even the sturdiest patriots of the opposition had to give way. He speedily raised the army to 92,000 men, and punished by death some officers who had misbehaved before the French; the Spaniards and Germans soon came forward as his allies. A lying charge was brought against Cornelius de Witte of having plotted the murder of the Prince; and severe torture was in vain applied to extract confession. John, together with his brother Cornelius, was murdered and outraged by a ruthless mob; and their old father, a man of fourscore, barely escaped. William of Orange, though loudly hailed by hundreds of Calvinist preachers, disgraced himself by rewarding many of the murderers of the great man, to whom he owed his education.<sup>1</sup>

The new young Stadtholder, whose office was henceforth made hereditary, was never altogether so happy in war as in diplomacy; yet his countrymen forgave him all his defeats. England soon tired of the shameful war against her future deliverer, and the French army, after much barbarity, left Holland. William at Seneff crossed swords, and not dishonourably, with the great Condé himself. The Prince was more eager for war than the mass of his countrymen were. In 1677 he was married to his first cousin, Mary Stuart. In the next year peace was concluded at Nimeguen, where France made mighty gains, owing to England's sluggishness.

<sup>1</sup> For the last nineteen years see Pontalis, *Jean de Witte*, in two volumes.



Louis, rather later, showed himself more insolent than ever, and in consequence had very few allies when the next great war broke out. He revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and thus sent thousands of his subjects, the keenest of tradesmen and the boldest of soldiers, to settle in Holland, where the Walloon churches exist to our day.

This Royal outrage caused the last Protestant persecution in Holland; in the North the Catholics were heavily taxed for the support of the new French emigration, while their brethren farther South came forward with a free and willing contribution. Groningen, though it was one of the last conquests from Spain, always showed the most Protestant bigotry; here nobles, lawyers, and traders of the obnoxious sect were much hampered; priests were banished or heavily fined. In Guelderland alone was there open toleration.<sup>1</sup> None but the Jesuits gave trouble to the Bishop. They prevented the election of Van Heussen, the learned author of the *Batavia Sacra*;—Cardinal Howard at this time showed himself a warm friend at Rome to the Dutch Church. In 1701 we have a relation by Archbishop Codde to the Propaganda; he reckons the inhabitants of the United Provinces at two millions; three-fourths of these belonged to the Established Calvinist Church; there were besides—

333,000 Catholics.  
160,000 Memnonites (Anabaptists).  
80,000 Lutherans.  
70,000 Socinians or Deists.  
60,000 Remonstrants (Arminians).  
25,000 Jews.

A little hush-money paid to the officials secured toleration

<sup>1</sup> De Witte, in his *True Interest of Holland*, translated and published in London in 1702, remarks that the Dutch had become more harsh in religion since 1618; they first harassed the Arminians, then the Catholics. These last, in order to enjoy any freedom, had to pay a heavy yearly tax to the Officials; the government reaped no benefit from this. He advocates allowing small assemblies in cities, in the houses of well known citizens, with priests approved by the government. The Calvinist clergy would have none of this. See p. 81 of the book. Holland and France were the only States in Western Europe that allowed anything like toleration about 1660; the former was to advance, the latter to retrograde, in this path in later years.

to the Catholics; they were sometimes allowed to build a new church. There were 117 secular clergy in the diocese of Utrecht alone.

The Archbishop was lured to Rome for the Jubilee; he produced a testimonial in his favour signed by 300 of his priests. Soon this head of a great national Church was suspended by the mere will of the Pope, to the amazement even of Roman Canonists. The States of Holland interfered, and forbade De Cock, the rival Papal candidate, to exercise any jurisdiction over the Dutch Catholics. Meanwhile Codde was at Rome, a prisoner at large; but the States ordered his return home, and the Pope complied. The whole business led up to a most learned book, written by Van Espen, the famous Canonist, who supported the Dutch Church. The States threatened to banish the Jesuits unless peace were restored. The Roman Inquisition condemned in a mass thirty-one pamphlets which had been published in defence of Codde, a friend of Quesnel's; the Archbishop, on his death, was declared unworthy of the prayers of the faithful and of Church burial. Jesuits swarmed over the land; one taught that it was better to go to a Calvinist temple than to a Jansenist church. Fifteen years passed without an ordination being held in Holland; but a Bishop in Ireland ordained twelve Dutch candidates, exacting at the same time a promise of secrecy. France afforded similar help. The Church of Utrecht, in 1719, appealed against the Bull *Unigenitus*; only 75 priests signed, a falling off from the 300 who had backed Codde. In 1723 the Chapter elected Steenoven as their Archbishop, dispensing with the usual Papal Bulls; they had powerful backers in France, who talked of "the glorious Church of Utrecht." In the next year this nominee was consecrated by a stray French Bishop; the Pope declared the consecration illicit and execrable; and made curious offers to the States, if they would only suppress the upstart sect. But this sect, it was said, was acknowledged by no fewer than thirty French Prelates. Rome was furious; even so mild a Pope as Benedict XIV. reviled one of the Utrecht Archbishops as a deceitful and savage wolf. In future years, whenever a Prelate of Utrecht or Deventer or

Harlem was chosen, notice was given to the Pope, and was answered by a fresh excommunication. Yet Universities and Bishops, and even Italian Prelates, bore witness in favour of the so-called Schismatic Church.<sup>1</sup>

France had perpetrated an atrocious outrage in 1685, and retribution speedily came. Her old allies at Amsterdam were now by her follies reduced to silence. William, having interested all Western Europe in his cause, set sail in 1688, overthrew the vassal of France, and was soon himself installed as King of England. He understood foreign politics better than any other man of the time, and of this knowledge both Holland and England reaped the benefit. The mighty power of France could at first fight only a drawn battle with the armies of half Europe, but a few years later the drawn battle became a ruinous defeat.<sup>2</sup> In 1702 King William died, the last heir-male of William the Silent; the cousin of the late King, John William Friso, now represented the House of Orange. War went on; the Dutch lost the flower of their infantry at Malplaquet, when assaulting an impregnable French position. Still, in 1710, they joined in refusing fair terms to the great Despot, then at the end of his resources. The wiles of the English Tories at last broke up the Grand Alliance, and the Dutch unwillingly signed the peace of Utrecht in 1713; by this several towns in the Netherlands were handed over to the States, to be garrisoned as a barrier against France. Holland would have won better terms, had she refrained from sending her Deputies to hamper the mighty projects of Marlborough and Eugene in the earlier part of the war. She was now involved in enormous debts; she no longer brought forth great statesmen and warriors; a nation of heroes, it was said, had been turned into a nation of pedlars.

The state of learning about 1740 is set before us by a shrewd English traveller, whose book went through four

<sup>1</sup> For all this see Neale, *Jansenist Church of Holland*, from p. 150 downwards.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch had a good conceit of themselves. After the battle of La Hogue, they put forth a print representing one of their sailors sweeping away the whole French fleet, with the inscription, *Canaille, wyt de Canal* (Dogs! out of the Channel!) Keysler's *Travels*, i. 80.

editions. Holland might degenerate in some things, but she still printed vast numbers of books, sold to the better half of Europe. She supplied types for Greek and the Oriental tongues to Paris, Rome, London, and Mayence. From her came the best paper in the world, and she excelled in painting and engraving. Her men of learning were renowned, but especially Erasmus, Grotius, and Boerhaave. Nowhere was the Civil Law so ably taught as at Leyden and Utrecht; the one fault of the expounders was prolixity. The Dutch clergy were both learned and laborious. Students came in crowds from abroad to the Universities of Holland.<sup>1</sup>

In 1734 William Charles Friso, the new Prince of Orange, was married to the eldest daughter of George II., a match that rightly disquieted the States of Holland. None the less did British seamen make prize of Dutch ships, if they carried anything like contraband goods; and this state of things went on all through the frequent wars of the Eighteenth century. In 1743 Holland sent troops to the aid of Maria Theresa; rather later, Holland's barrier towns fell into the hands of France. In 1747 William IV., Prince of Orange, was declared Stadtholder of all the States, the lower classes being most vehement in his cause; the office was now made hereditary, and Holland henceforth was a Republic only in name. Happily for the Dutch, their new master was a good and moderate Prince, who knew how to choose his ministers. He died in 1751, leaving a child to succeed him.

The nation was now forgetting the old reasonable policy, which had once raised her high above Portugal in the East. A fearful massacre upon natives was perpetrated in 1740 by the Dutch governor of Batavia, and the pillage allowed by him lasted for two or three days.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch India Company now found a mighty opponent in their English rival, which could boast of Clive; hence came many trade disputes, ending in bloodshed. The new Stadtholder,

<sup>1</sup> See *The Present State of Holland*, printed by De Pecker at Leyden. I have used the fourth edition; the author has not put his name to the work.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *History of Holland*, iii. 395.

William V., had received a bad education, and was a most irresolute man; he was soon married to a haughty Prussian Princess, who became the real ruler of the land.

How much Holland had degenerated since 1650 may be seen in a French work, printed at London in 1778.<sup>1</sup> Money indeed was abundant and the rate of interest very low; the Dutch were still the bankers of Europe, and their money was largely employed by other nations, such as France, England, and even Russia. But Dutchmen had begun to look down upon commerce, and no longer bred their children to it. The young folk were more than formerly inclined to debauchery; bankruptcies became most common. The herring fishery, which of old was called the gold mine of the State, had diminished by one half. The manufactures of wool, silk, and other articles had succumbed. The taxation was enormous; this was the fruit of the many wars of the Century. A number of shops in the chief Dutch towns stood empty, and all within the last twenty-five years.<sup>2</sup>

The East India Company, which had now a much-dreaded rival in England, still kept up 25,000 soldiers and sailors and 180 ships. Eight governments were subject to Batavia, among them Ceylon, Coromandel, and the Cape of Good Hope. Besides these, Dutch commerce extended over nearly all Asia; in Japan it had a monopoly.<sup>3</sup> It was always waging wars with various barbaric kings, and the factors by degrees became dishonest, going Eastward with the one view of making their fortunes.<sup>4</sup> Holland seemed to be treading in the steps of Portugal, and no Dutch Clive was sent forth from home to give a rough lesson to evil-doers. There was one very rich colony in America, Surinam; yet here the blacks were so cruelly treated that they were a constant source of danger, and maintained an armed State of their own. To this colony crowds of French refugees had gone, and were followed by Germans and Swiss; the planters came home to parade their astonishing riches in Europe, and left their estates in the hands of cheating

<sup>1</sup> *La Richesse de la Hollande*. See i. 371.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 54, 57, 126, 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 361.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 131.



agents. Already at this date men foretold that Holland would lose the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>1</sup>

The Dutch army was bad; it was recruited by deserters from every nation in Europe; they were ill dressed and ill fed, and the officers were not likely to elevate their men. A regular system of kidnapping prevailed, whereby the army in the East was recruited; the agents of this traffic were known as "soul-sellers." Holland did not win much renown in the war of 1741; her sun seemed to have set on the field of Malplaquet. Her commerce was now being rapidly transferred to one of her allies on that famous field. In the Seven Years' War she had lost hundreds of ships by the English privateers; yet it was Dutch capital in a great measure that had enabled England to wage that famous conflict.<sup>2</sup> It was hard to say whether England or France absorbed most of Dutch gold; Holland might well try to stand neuter between the two; she had lately lost much money in Silesia and Saxony.

Still Holland was well known as the nation that surpassed all others in the care she bestowed on the poor. The decrease of manufactures bore hard upon the country in this particular; good workmen went abroad; those who remained were usually lazy, hoping for State maintenance. As it was, the hay harvest was got in by Germans from over the border; foreigners were now much employed in the counting-houses. The Dutch printing-press was losing its old renown. The number of learned men had diminished; French books were now printed at Liège, beyond the Dutch boundary.<sup>3</sup>

In the American war, Britain asserted her rights at sea with so much violence, that the Dutch were driven to take up arms against her, thus bringing to an end an alliance of more than a Century. At the Peace of 1783 they were abandoned by France, and could realise how low they had fallen within the two last generations. They now hoped to

<sup>1</sup> *La Richesse de la Hollande*, ii. 118, 146. As to Surinam, Stedman's book upon it should always be consulted; I know no better picture of what slavery is.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 114, 205, 216.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 171, 218, 307.

restore their old prosperity by stripping the unpopular Stadtholder of his powers. Discord went so far, that in 1787 his Princess was arrested; but her brother the King of Prussia stepped in, backed by Britain. France would do nothing for her Dutch allies, so the Stadtholder was restored by foreign arms, and many acts of petty tyranny were perpetrated. Soon the French Revolution broke out, and Holland's nearest neighbour was overrun by the troops of Dumouriez. The closing of the Scheldt had been hitherto one of Holland's most cherished privileges; the French now demanded that the river should be opened, and upon this question war broke out between France and Holland in 1793. Aid was sent to the latter from Britain, but the allies were driven back in the renowned campaign of 1794, after having been practically deserted by Prussia. The French generals seized upon many a Dutch town, and they were aided by the local patriots, the enemies of the house of Orange. Early in 1795 the French Republic was in possession of Holland, and the Stadtholder had fled. The old Constitution was at once swept away; the French brought ruin in their train, and the Dutch colonies by degrees fell into the hands of Britain.

Holland was soon made a kingdom for one of Buonaparte's brothers, and became a recruiting ground for the Grand Army. Late in 1813 she threw off the hateful yoke and established a limited Monarchy in the room of the old Stadtholderate. Britain gave back most of the Dutch colonies seized in the late war, though she kept Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, unconscious of impending wars with Zulus and Boers.

The conquerors of Napoleon, wishing to raise a future strong barrier against France, united Holland and Belgium under one sceptre, without the least forethought as to how the men of two entirely opposed religions were likely to live in unity. With regard to population, Holland was to Belgium as one to two, yet the former was allowed as many representatives as the latter. The two countries alike sent their soldiery to Waterloo under the Prince of Orange, the son of King William I. But lovers of freedom were soon

outraged by the abolition of trial by jury, and by the secrecy imposed on tribunals. The liberty of the press was invaded, and subjected to an extraordinary court which was allowed to inflict infamous punishments. The Constitution was adopted by means of sheer trickery; oligarchy, as we see in South Africa, seems dear to the Dutch mind.

The Belgian clergy had already begun to protest against all tolerance in religion and against all school teaching that did not emanate from themselves; the Pope was ready to interfere. The Bishop of Ghent soon underwent State condemnation, which was made wantonly offensive. On the other hand, the King conciliated the Belgian Liberals by the vast sums spent on education; trade and agriculture flourished, while Antwerp once more became the rival of Amsterdam.

King William had many good qualities, but made himself remarkable for his hatred of France, the land admired by all good Belgians. When at Brussels, he took little heed of the nobles, and showed an unkingly desire for wealth, being a true son of Holland. Like his kinsman of old, he had a good right to the surname of Taciturn. He disliked men of genius and had full trust in his personal infallibility, forming his own ministers. He refused to ally himself either with the Belgian Liberals or the Belgian Catholics, thus at last driving them into a league against him. He laid heavy taxes upon the lower classes, and enforced the Teutonic speech upon the French-speaking provinces of the South; Holland was allowed to contribute officials in most unfair proportion.

The Calvinist King in 1825 put forth ordinances, interfering with the education of the Belgian clergy; he was now treading in the steps of the Emperor Joseph II., who had forty years earlier driven his Belgian subjects into rebellion. The Crown made a Concordat in 1827 with Pope Leo XII., whereby three new Belgian sees were created, and some of the despotic ordinances were withdrawn; this Concordat was detested by the Liberals. In 1828 petitions poured in, aimed specially against the press laws; the cry was, "Freedom in everything for all." The

Catholics and Liberals of Belgium were at last united, a combination of interests such as Lamennais had now begun to preach; three editions of the famous priest's last work were devoured in Belgium, where he had more practical success than in his own country. De Potter, an enemy of Rome, was sent to prison, and afterwards played the part of O'Connell.<sup>1</sup> A favourite phrase, borrowed from old Venice, was, "We are Belgians before being Catholics or Liberals."

The Dutch deputies saw nothing in all this but the work of a few hot-headed demagogues; the Government organs proposed to muzzle the Belgians like dogs. The King himself was now attacked by his Southern subjects, and his son the Prince of Orange lost his old popularity. In 1829 the priests procured 360,000 signatures to petitions, but the Court of Rome took alarm and leant to the King's side. Whatever the Monarch gave with one hand, he took away with the other.<sup>2</sup> An old galley slave, marked with the red-hot iron, was made the organ of government in the press. Dutch Protestantism in all this did not show to advantage, but it must be remembered that similar folly had long been perpetrated by the rulers of Ireland.

Holland and Belgium were now standing apart; the King was infuriated by the attacks made on the budget, and early in 1830 three Belgian patriots were arrested and banished. Their friends invoked the principles of William the Silent; his modern representative was guilty of one more folly in transferring the Supreme Court to the Hague.<sup>3</sup> In the summer news came that Charles X. had been hurled from his throne. But for almost a month after this mishap nothing seemed to be stirring in Belgium, and King William visited Brussels. Late in August that city rose in revolution, and mobs tore down the Royal arms. Their Monarch would make no concessions, and refused to grant full powers to the more popular Prince of Orange. This representative of Royalty was guilty of

<sup>1</sup> He wrote the *Life of Ricci*, from which I have taken much.

<sup>2</sup> Here we are reminded of President Kruger.

<sup>3</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, tome xviii. chap. vii.

various blunders on coming to Brussels, where soon fifty barricades were set up by the populace. At this time peace might have been restored, had the administrations of Holland and Belgium been separated. But this was not to be; the Dutch, the children of the old Republic, came forward on behalf of the Crown, eager to crush the new rebels of the South. These last were beginning to arm, stimulated by the folly of their Dutch oppressors, who would not listen to reason. It was soon made evident that there was no alternative between Revolution and submission.

Late in September the King's younger son attacked Brussels, but was beaten off. The whole country, except four towns, now rose upon the Dutch garrisons. In October, at the moment when Belgium would still have been content with a separate administration, King William, seduced by most of the European diplomatists at his Court, called the Dutch to arms. De Potter and his fellows were thus enabled to carry out their scheme of total separation. A futile attempt was made to storm Antwerp, and this caused great devastation; the King had now made himself impossible; late in November, Belgium rejected the House of Orange for ever.<sup>1</sup>

In 1831 Holland possessed 70,000 good soldiers, while Belgium seemed falling into anarchy. The French were eager to back Revolution on the Scheldt; and the British, occupied with the Reform Bill, could not tolerate any triumph of Despotism near home. The Belgian crown was accepted by Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, while France and England united to promote his interest. The Dutch, invading Belgium, easily routed Leopold, whose soldiers shrank from battle. But the conquerors had to withdraw, at the behest of the Five Powers of Europe.

In August 1832 the new King Leopold was married to the daughter of the French King. France and Britain now made a treaty, which aimed at expelling the Dutch from Belgian soil. Late in the year, Marshal Gérard besieged the citadel of Antwerp, which was bravely held by

<sup>1</sup> Gervinus, *History of the Nineteenth Century*, tome xxi. chap. v.



General Chassé for nearly a month against overpowering numbers. The Holy Alliance shrank from interfering, and in 1833 a convention was signed, which restored peace to Holland and Belgium, leaving the navigation of the Scheldt open.

When the French were driven from Holland, late in 1813, the Utrecht communion numbered only 5000 souls, while the Pope had about one million of followers in Holland. The Protestants have not quite double this strength. In 1853 Pius IX. established a new hierarchy in Holland, making Utrecht the metropolitical See. The wrath of the land burst forth after this Papal aggression, much as in England three years earlier; and the Schismatic Church, which had but thirty priests in 1858, denounced the decision on the Immaculate Conception, published in 1854.<sup>1</sup> Thus a feeble spark of Jansenism has lasted to our own day.

Here we take leave of this most interesting of nations, famous alike in war, commerce, and politics. The House of Orange is now without heirs-male, and is represented by a Queen, who was married in 1901. Holland has been much maimed in the Napoleonic wars; still an Englishman may take pride in the fact that his country handed back Java to Holland at the Peace. Surely the land that has been a beacon of light to Europe in general, and has conferred such benefits upon Great Britain in particular, was well deserving of the restoration of the rich Eastern island. Happy had it been for all parties if Kruger in our own day had taken for his model either Barnveld or De Witte, men who held riches and nepotism in scorn.

<sup>1</sup> See Neale, *Jansenist Church in Holland*, 349 and later.

## CHAPTER VI

### ENGLAND

Decay of the old Aristocracy and the old Church	1460-1540
The Reformation — Attempts at Colonising	
America . . . . .	1525-1603
Struggle between Crown and Parliament . . . . .	1603-1689
Confirmation of the Revolution Settlement . . . . .	1689-1757
Vast increase of Colonial Empire . . . . .	1757-1832
Further increase—Reform of Parliament . . . . .	1832-1902

I CANNOT better begin this chapter than with a few sentences from Hallam. "No unbiassed observer, who derives pleasure from the welfare of his species, can fail to consider the long and uninterruptedly increasing prosperity of England as the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind. . . . In no other region have the benefits that political institutions can confer been diffused over so extended a population; nor have any people so well reconciled the discordant elements of wealth, order, and liberty." The favoured land was to be a mixture of Carthage, Rome, and Athens; but no observer of the year 800 could have foretold England's future. After that year her many quarrelsome kingdoms were by slow degrees welded into one, and she was able to absorb her old Danish oppressors, a most valuable addition to the body politic. The remarkable house, that had produced Alfred, seemed after six generations to fail in vigour. Soon came the Norman conqueror, the champion of unity, forbidding anything like oligarchy on the part of the new nobles or separatist tendencies on the part of the old towns. Unity came

before Freedom. Soon the burden of the French connection was cast off; early in the glorious Thirteenth century the Great Charter and a great naval victory, types of England's two chief glories in the future, much about the same time challenged the admiration of mankind. The Constitution was slowly built up, and the process went on even while the bootless attempts to conquer Scotland and France were prosecuted. After the Kingmaker's fall, the old Aristocracy seemed to have spent its strength, and the rising Commons had not as yet given proof of their power. Hence Royalty now took the lead, but happily had no standing army to rely upon, a point wherein England differed much from France and Spain. The twenty-three miles of salt water that separate Dover from Calais are the most important physical fact in the geography of the world; this fact it was that saved England from the curse of standing armies in perilous times.

The wars of the Roses were over, and the first Tudor King sat secure upon the English throne; his rapacity made the succession of Henry VIII., the most English of Kings in his earlier years, a welcome change. The new Monarch made Cardinal Wolsey his minister; and much money was wrung from the people, in order that Henry might stand before the world as the umpire between France and Spain. Wolsey seems to have had leanings towards Reformation, a work to be carried out in England, as he hoped, by both Pope and King; he had the example of Ximenes before his eyes. Being made Papal Legate in 1518, the later Cardinal obtained power to visit all the English monasteries. He revived the study of Greek at the Universities, and suppressed twenty small monasteries, with a view to his new foundation of Christchurch at Oxford.

But in 1527 King Henry had tired of his first Queen, Catherine, and was beginning to look with longing eyes upon Anne Boleyn. Clement VII. was perplexed by the amorous desires of the English King, while at this same time the Pope found himself fast in the grip of the mighty Emperor Charles V., nephew to the injured Catherine.

After vain endeavours to please both parties, the legal proceedings ended in the ruin of Wolsey, in the year 1529. In the next year Rome forbade Henry to marry again, at a time when Anne was publicly living with him. Early in 1533 the forbidden marriage took place, and eight months later the future Queen Elizabeth was born. In the same year Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury, and pronounced Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void.

The people, upon whose destiny the events above described were to have so weighty an influence, were the envy of many another land; they were fed upon an abundant flesh diet, though often ill housed. "What common folk in all this world," asks a State paper of 1515, "may compare with the commons of England in riches, freedom, liberty, welfare, and all prosperity? What common folk is so mighty, so strong in the field, as the commons of England?"<sup>1</sup> The long bow, which had won so many victories from Falkirk to Flodden, had not yet gone out of use; every man was a soldier, trained at the butts on holidays; the oppression of such stout subjects, whether by King or by Cardinal, was no light undertaking. One blemish, it is true, existed; the rich Abbots, eager to export their wool, were too apt to turn arable into pasture land, and thus husbandry decayed.<sup>2</sup> It is to this fact probably that we may attribute the apathy with which all England south of Trent (Lincolnshire must be excepted) beheld the dissolution of the Abbeys.

Religion was not in a wholesome state; it could hardly be so, when we consider the lives of the Popes for sixty years before Wolsey's fall. A number of proverbs, handed down to us from about 1520, show how the Bishops were then disliked in England, and what a hold Lollardy had upon the common folk. We read, "When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech and say, 'The bishop hath blessed it,' because that nothing speedeth well that they

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Froude's *History*, i. 19.

<sup>2</sup> More, in the Preface to his *Utopia*, enlarges on this fact, which is confirmed by his enemy Tyndale.

meddle withal. If the porridge be burned too, or the meat overroasted, we say, 'The bishop hath put his foot in the pot,' or 'The bishop hath played the cook,' because the bishops burn whom they lust, and whosoever displeaseth them. 'He is a Pontifical fellow,'—that is, proud and stately. 'He is popish,'—that is, superstitious and faithless. 'It is a pastime for a prelate.' 'It is a pleasure for a Pope.' 'He would be free, and yet will not have his head shaven.' 'He would that no man should smite him, and yet hath not the Pope's mark.' And of him that is betrayed and wotteth not how, we say, 'He hath been at shrift.' 'She is master parson's sister's daughter,' 'He is the bishop's sister's son,' 'He hath a Cardinal to his uncle,' 'She is a spiritual whore,' 'It is the gentlewoman of the parsonage'; 'He gave me a *Kyrie eleyson*.' And of her that answereth her husband six words for one, we say, 'She is a sister of the Charterhouse,' as who should say, 'She thinketh that she is not bound to keep silence; their silence shall be a satisfaction for her.' And of him that will not be saved by Christ's merits, but by the works of his own imagination, we say, 'It is a holy-work man.'"<sup>1</sup>

One of the worst crimes of the Church was that she allowed her churches to shelter ruffians from due punishment, and this state of things, which prevailed throughout Southern Europe in the Eighteenth century, was well known in England. In 1520 a great sitting of the Star Chamber was held, attended by the King, all the Judges, and many Bishops, to deal with the Sanctuaries of Westminster and St. John's. The Judges declared that the Pope's right to make a Sanctuary had never been allowed in England. The abuses of the system were admitted by Wolsey, and Chief-Justice Fineux pointed out that to have bad houses in Sanctuaries was not to the praise of God or for the welfare of the kingdom. In 1512 a great question arose as to whether the clergy could be tried by laymen; even Wolsey declared this to be against God's law, and the King was petitioned to refer the business to Rome.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tyndale, i. 304 (Parker Society).

<sup>2</sup> Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, 56-59, 68.



What English superstition was, a little before 1540, may be seen in a long ballad preserved by Foxe.<sup>1</sup> Pilgrimage's were endless.

Ronning hyther and thyther,  
We cannot tell whither,  
    In offryng candels and pence  
To stones and stockes,  
And to old rotten blockes,  
    That came we know not whence.

To Walsyngham a gaddyng,  
To Cantorbury a maddyng,  
    As men distraught of mynde ;  
With fewe clothes on our backes,  
But an image of waxe,  
    For the lame and for the blynde.

To Saynt Syth for my purse,  
Saynt Loye save my horse ;  
    For my teth to Saynt Apolyne ;  
To Saynt Job for the poxe ;  
Saynt Luke save myne oxe ;  
    Saynt Anthony save my swyne !

The blood of Hales this poem affirms to have been the blood of a duck. Images were made to goggle their eyes for the benefit of their worshippers. About thirty resorts of pilgrims are here named. Lancelot Ridley (not the martyr) wrote in 1540 that there had been much idolatry in this matter, men "supposing the dead images could have healed them or could have done something for them to God. For this the ignorant have crouched, kneeled, kissed, bobbed, and licked the images, giving them coats of gold, silver, and of tissue, velvet, damask, and satin, and suffered the living members of Christ to be without a russet coat or a sackcloth to keep them from the cold."<sup>2</sup>

Clerical abuses had long been the bane of the English Church. Wickliffe had many years earlier lifted up his voice against these, and his Lollard disciples, the first Dissenters, had never ceased to bear witness against the

<sup>1</sup> Cattley's edition, v. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Gasquet, *Ève of the Reformation*, 424.

corruptions in the Church, from his time down to that of Wolsey, though these Lollards were often sent to the stake for their protest.<sup>1</sup> They were but a feeble folk, but in 1525 they were reinforced by one of the greatest scholars of the time. A new state of things was at hand; the word Lollard was soon to make way for Gospeller.

William Tyndale, born in Gloucestershire about 1485, was bred at Oxford, and by degrees lost his faith in Rome. About 1522, being told by a learned man that "we were better be without God's laws than the Pope's," Tyndale answered, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest." Full of this purpose, he went to London, where he found friends who supplied him with money. In 1524 he sailed to Germany, never to return home. He seems to have visited Luther, from whose works he afterwards borrowed much. He now set about his great task, the translation of the New Testament from the Greek; the only English version of the Bible, sparingly used at this time, was the obsolete translation made by Wickcliffe from the Vulgate; this was in manuscript, and was forbidden by the Church, which steadily refrained from printing any orthodox version, though the English press had now been at work for fifty years. Tyndale had before him Erasmus' Greek Testament, the Vulgate, and Luther's German version; the new translation was finished in 1525, and in the next year six thousand copies were printed at Worms and smuggled over into England.<sup>2</sup> This work, though often revised, is the Testament we still read; the majesty and simplicity, the happy turns of language, the musical flow stamped upon the fine English sentences, bear token true of the martyr Tyndale, who at this moment speaks to 110 millions of his kinsmen, scattered over the

<sup>1</sup> Warham burnt some of them in 1511; this judgment shows more barbarity than any laid to Bonner's charge. See Foxe, v. 647; his account is translated from the Archbishop's registers.

<sup>2</sup> Many blunders have been made about Tyndale's version, not only by Fuller, but by Hallam, Marsh, and Hook. Demaus, from whom I have taken my account of the version, gives the true story; see his *William Tyndale*, a book to be read by all English-speaking men.

globe. Such passages as the parable of the Prodigal Son have come down to us all but unaltered, after nearly four hundred years. Neither Chaucer nor Mallory, More nor Lord Berners, have rivalled Tyndale as regards abiding influence on their mother tongue.

The English Bishops strove in vain to crush the new enterprise; King Henry employed many agents abroad to arrest Tyndale and his fellows. The Reformer in 1528 established himself at Marburg, where Philip of Hesse was fostering a new University. Tyndale, a sound patriot, now put forth tracts upon both religion and politics—tracts almost as hateful to the English authorities as the New Testament itself; More, soon to be Chancellor, thought it worth his while to take the field against the banished man. In 1530 Tyndale made use of his knowledge of Hebrew to translate the Pentateuch. Two years later he printed an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount; here Luther's influence is very plain. In 1534 Tyndale, then settled at Antwerp, revised his New Testament and brought in several obvious improvements, still kept by us; many editions of the work were pouring into England. In the next year two Englishmen were sent over who entrapped the simple-hearted man, and were the means of throwing him into the prison of Vilvorde; here he remained for a year and a half, translating the Old Testament as far as the end of Chronicles, and confronting the Flemish theologians. In the summer of 1536, the very time when the Reformation was getting fast hold of his beloved native land, Tyndale was first strangled and then burnt. Few Englishmen have done more for their country. He is somewhat bitter in his writings, much as Jeremiah and Ezekiel were bitter before him, all alike being surrounded by a festering mass of corruption.

He gives us a curious picture of the triumphant clergy and the much-fleeced laity, as they stood in England before the meeting of the Reforming Parliament of 1529:—

Mark well how many parsonages or vicarages are there in the realm, which at the least have a plow-land apiece. Then note the lands of bishops, abbots, priors, nuns, knights of St.

John, cathedral churches, colleges, chauntries, and free chapels. For, though the house fall in decay and the ordinance of the founder be lost, yet will not they lose the lands. What cometh once in may never more out. They make a free chapel of it ; so that he which enjoyeth it shall do nought therefore. Besides all this, how many chaplains do gentlemen find at their own cost, in their houses ! How many sing for souls by testaments ! Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the Bishop of Canterbury's prerogative ; is that not much through the realm in a year ? Four offering days, and privy tithes. There is no servant but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages. None shall receive the body of Christ at Easter, be he never so poor a beggar, or never so young a lad or maid, but they must pay somewhat for it. Then mortuaries for forgotten tithes, as they say. And yet what parson or vicar is there that will forget to have a pigeon house, to peck up somewhat both at sowing time and harvest, when corn is ripe ? They will forget nothing. No man shall die in their debt ; or if any man do, he shall pay it when he is dead. They will lose nothing. Why ? It is God's, it is not theirs. It is St. Hubert's rents, St. Alban's lands, St. Edmund's right, St. Peter's patrimony, say they, and none of ours. Item, if a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath ; whether it be a horse of twenty pound, or how good so ever he be ; either a chain of gold of an hundred marks, or five hundred pounds, if it so chance. It is much, verily, for so little painstaking in confession, and in ministering the sacraments. Then bead rolls. Item chrysomes, churchings, banns, weddings, offering at weddings, offering at buryings, offering to images, offering of wax and lights, which come to their vantage ; besides the superstitious waste of wax in torches and tapers throughout the land. Then brotherhoods and pardoners. What get they also by confessions ? Yea, and many enjoin penance, to give a certain (sum) for to have so many masses said, and desire to provide a chaplain themselves ; soul-masses, dirges, month-minds, year-minds, All Soul's day, and trentals. The mother Church, and the high altar, must have somewhat in every testament. Offerings at priests' first masses. Item, no man is professed, of whatsoever religion it be, but he must bring somewhat. The hallowing, or rather conjuring, of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalice, vestment, and bells. Then book, bell, candlestick, organs, chalice, vestments, copes, altar-cloths, surplices, towels, basins, ewers, ship, censer, and all manner ornament, must be found them freely ; they will not give a

mite thereunto. Last of all, what swarms of begging friars are there! The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin.

What get they in their spiritual law, as they call it, in a year, at the Arches and in every diocese? What get the commissaries and officials with their somners and apparitors, by bawdery in a year? Shall ye not find curates enough which, to flatter the commissaries and officials withal, that they may go quit themselves, shall open unto them the confessions of the richest of their parishes; whom they cite privily, and lay to their charges secretly? If they desire to know their accusers, "Nay," say they, "the matter is well known enough, and to more than ye are ware of. Come, lay your hand on the book; if ye forswear yourself, we shall bring proofs, we will handle you, we will make an example of you." O how terrible are they! "Come and swear," say they, "that you will be obedient unto our injunctions." And by that craft wring they their purses, and make them drop, as long as there is a penny in them. In three or four years shall they in those offices get enough to pay for a bishop's bull. What other things are these in a realm save horse leeches, and even very maggots, cankers, and caterpillars, which devour no more but all that is green; and those wolves which Paul prophesied should come, and should not spare the flock; and which Christ said should come in lambs' skins, and bade us beware of them and judge them by their works?

We see that there had not been much clerical improvement since Chaucer's day, whose pardoner, somner, and friar are painted in hues that never die. The case of Hunne in London shows the gulf that was now yawning between clergy and laity. Late in 1529 a new Parliament was called, which began to lay the axe to the root of the Papal tree. Wolsey had earlier called the Pope's attention to the fact that the English clergy were practically allowed to commit atrocious crimes with impunity; various priests were permitted to live in fornication on payment of money.<sup>1</sup> The Parliament now petitioned against the irregular laws with which the Bishops and clergy harassed the laity; reference was made to the oppression of the poor and to the exorbitant fees exacted; also to the simony connected with

<sup>1</sup> See Froude, i. 194, 197, for particulars.



the sacraments. The excessive number of holidays is mentioned, and also the illegal imprisonment practised by the clerical authorities. The Bishops made a lame defence against the Commons. These latter sent up bill after bill, cutting down the old abuses, whence the clergy had their wealth. Legacy duties and mortuaries were diminished; pluralities were limited, and dispensations for non-residence were made penal. Bishop Fisher avowed that there was now little difference between England and heretical Bohemia, a speech for which he had to apologise. Henry went on to forbid the admission of Papal Bulls.

Wolsey, by acting as Papal Legate, had fallen under the statute of *Præmunire*. All the English clergy, by submitting to the acts done by Wolsey as Legate, had brought themselves into the same evil plight as his accomplices. King Henry, who had authorised Wolsey's dealing with the Papacy, now turned round and took advantage of his own wrong-doing. He exacted an enormous fine from the helpless clergy, and, moreover, forced them to recognise the supremacy of the Crown over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as secular; this was done by the Southern Convocation in February 1531. A further Act of Submission was subscribed by the clergy in the next year.<sup>1</sup> Never was there a tyrant so well supplied with money as Henry VIII. from the first hour of his reign; and never was there a Parliament more servile. The Commons had not yet shed blood, as they were to do later on; but they passed an Act releasing Henry from all his previous debts, a law which must have caused the ruin of hundreds, and which was to be once more enacted in 1544.<sup>2</sup>

In 1531 the Convocation seemed to outstrip the Commons in their hostility to Rome. The former petitioned the Crown, charging the Pope with simony, and protesting against the payment of Annates, the first year's income from the new preferments of Prelates. The clergy referred

<sup>1</sup> For these times I depend upon Froude and Blunt—men most opposed in their ideas; they must be compared throughout the Century.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, *Constitutional History*, p. 13, gives the words of the Act. Froude takes no notice of it; it does not suit his theory as to the King's virtue.

to the Council of Basle, and suggested the withdrawal of all obedience from the Pope if he should prove stubborn.<sup>1</sup> King and Parliament passed an Act accordingly, which cut off much of the flow of English money to Rome. In 1532 the benefit of clergy was taken away from all under the degree of subdeacon, though priests might still commit a murder unpunished by law. The Arches Court, a sore grievance, was in some degree reformed; and it was enacted that men might not burden their lands for more than twenty years if they wished a priest to sing for their souls. The clergy were reduced to the position of ordinary subjects.

Bishop Gardiner was now taking the lead, a man who clung to the old-established notion of the Eucharist and of Holy Orders, while he was ready to reject the Pope's authority, and cared little for the Monasteries. He seems to have sketched the future condition of the Anglican Church for the next twenty years. His great enemy, Cromwell, was already the King's Secretary, leaning towards the persecuted Gospellers, who in More's view were but food for the fire. Wolsey's place was therefore filled up. About this time More ceased to be Chancellor, and the old Archbishop Warham died, thus making way for Cranmer.

In 1533 the Parliament passed a new Act forbidding all appeals to Rome, under penalty of *Præmunire*. Cranmer was therefore enabled to annul Queen Catherine's marriage; her place was speedily taken by Anne Boleyn. It was now enacted that henceforth no Prelate was to apply to the Pope for Bulls; the King was to name the new Bishop, granting a *congé d'élire* to the Chapter. This system had been in use for many years before these times, and it has lasted to our own day. Early in the fateful year 1534 Cromwell was planning further anti-Papal measures. The clergy were forbidden to pass unlicensed laws. Trials for heresy were to be carried on in open court, where justices of the peace replaced the Bishop. Various revenues whence the Pope had sucked no small advantage were now cut off. The Nun of Kent and her clerical accomplices, who had been guilty

<sup>1</sup> Blunt gives this important document i. 250.

of a mighty imposture, were attainted and hanged. The crown was settled upon the offspring of Henry and Anne, and any one denouncing their marriage was to be held guilty of treason; all persons might be called upon to swear allegiance to this Act.

Meanwhile Pope Clement, altogether in the power of Charles V., was about to pronounce sentence against Henry. A French Bishop acted for the King at Rome, but could not delay the Papal sentence, to which Henry must either submit or be excommunicated. All was over, after the great cause had perplexed Europe for more than six years. Henry met the sentence unmoved; Ireland might rise in rebellion, but France and Protestant Germany were his allies. English Bishops, Abbots, Priors, joined with the laity in renouncing the Papal claims. The clergy, high and low, were ordered to preach against the usurpation of Rome; the King was now proclaimed to be the Supreme Head of the English Church; the Pope's name must be razed out of the books of prayer. Public opinion was appealed to by the Government, mainly by means of the pulpit. Thus was broken the union between Rome and England, a bond that had lasted for nine hundred years. It must be allowed that in our land the Reformation, so powerfully furthered by the unbridled lusts of Royalty, had not so honourable a source as the Reformation in Germany and Holland. Inscrutable were the ways of the Almighty when He rescued England from the future doom of Poland and Spain.

A new statute doomed as traitors all who might attempt to deprive the King or Queen of the dignity, title, or name of their Royal estates; any one might be called upon to state his opinion of the Royal supremacy, and if this opinion was unsatisfactory, death was the penalty. Few durst deny to King Henry his new titles; the exceptions were those true martyrs—Fisher, More, and a handful of Carthusian monks; the roots of the Papacy had plainly not struck deep in England. Thousands of our countrymen afterwards rose on behalf of the Monasteries; others fell by hundreds while fighting for the Latin Mass;

but the Papal Supremacy, the corner-stone of the old religion, could boast but very few martyrs. These mostly died in 1535; in the same year the new Pope, Paul III., compiled his Bull (not to be issued for three years) deposing King Henry; by it the clergy, absolved from their oaths, were ordered to leave the accursed land. Henry strove to protect himself from all foreign enemies by an alliance with the Lutheran Princes, whom he never really loved; but he could not afford to despise the Pope and Emperor united.

The great agent in the approaching changes was Thomas Cromwell, who had wandered to Italy, had read Machiavelli, had served Wolsey in uprooting various small monasteries, and had been for some years the trusted Minister of King Henry. Never was there greater need of a bold, unscrupulous man now that England's face was to be changed. In this year, 1535, he sent forth his commissioners, some of whom were infamous rogues, to visit all the Monasteries in the realm. They bore with them a set of Articles of inquiry, and were furnished with numerous injunctions which they were to issue. They laid hands upon the gold and silver plate which they found. The monks that wished to leave were empowered to follow their own bent. The Universities were also visited, and the Mediæval writings, so much studied heretofore, were cast out. Certain rules for the Monasteries were laid down by the Visitors; no women were to be allowed within the sacred walls; sturdy beggars, who were always resorting to the holy precincts, were henceforth to be denied the alms, which should henceforth go to the deserving poor.

Parliament met early in 1536, and the Black Book of the Monasteries was produced. The cry, if we may believe Latimer, who was now a Bishop, was "Down with them." Two-thirds of the whole number were accused of being homes of vice and idleness. Those of them that contained less than twelve inmates were now suppressed by Act of Parliament, and their wealth was given to the Crown; the number of these was 376. The House of Commons, which had sat for more than six years, was now



dissolved; they had, under the King's fostering care, for the first time risen above the Lords in the estimation of the wisest of Englishmen.

By this time Queen Catherine was in her grave, and a few months later Queen Anne lost her head. The Pope and Emperor were now both ready for reconciliation with Henry, much to the dismay of Pole, the future Cardinal. The new Parliament, a short-lived one, met in June 1536; and the Convocation also began their session. Latimer preached before his brother clergy, and rebuked them for their sloth and superstitious jugglery. His hearers, while protesting their renunciation of the Pope, put in a list of complaints against the heresies that were now spreading everywhere. Priests had already begun to take wives. King Henry put forth certain articles for the behoof of the faithful, wherein he seemed to trim between the Roman and the Protestant creeds. In the Convocation, Lee and Tunstall were opposed to Cranmer and Latimer. Cromwell, though but a layman, sat as the King's Vicar-General in the highest place, over against the two Archbishops; all did obeisance to him. He brought Ales, a Scotch divine, into the Convocation, whose oration soon aroused the wrath of the men of the Old Learning. Fox, Bishop of Hereford, took part with the stranger, saying, "The lay people do now know the holy Scripture better than many of us." On the other side, Stokesley, Bishop of London, avowed, "Ye are far deceived if ye think that there is none other Word of God but that which every soutar and cobbler doth read in this mother tongue."<sup>1</sup> Tyndale's New Testament had evidently become most popular; nine editions had come out in the last year of his life alone.

King Henry now abolished a number of holidays that occurred in harvest time, a boon that King Philip afterwards refused to the Spanish Cortes. But later in 1536 the suppression of the lesser Monasteries provoked a rising in Lincolnshire, abetted by many noblemen; the Commons had, moreover, been irritated by the conversion of arable

<sup>1</sup> The best account of this debate is in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, i. 498.



into pasture land; one man would now dwell on a farm that had maintained forty persons. Demands were made upon the Crown; the heretic Bishops ought to be deprived and punished. Their own Prelate's palace was sacked, though he favoured the Old Learning, and his Chancellor was murdered. But the South-East of England stood true to the Crown, and Lincoln was seized by Henry's troops. Yorkshire now rose and made Aske her general; the other Northern shires joined in the rising, which was headed by some of the nobles, such as the Percies and Nevilles. Still most of the leading aristocrats fought for the Crown. The Monasteries were restored to the monks by popular violence; even the Archbishop of York took the rebels' oath. Never was the English Reformation in greater peril than when nearly thirty thousand Northern men, the most warlike in the land, lay at Doncaster, with their faces set Londonwards. They were opposed by only eight thousand men; was there to be another Towton? The rebels sent their demands to Henry; they wished that heretics should go to the fire; that the Pope might be the supreme head, though he must be cut off from his former English revenues; that Cromwell's visitors might be punished for their extortions; that elections to the House of Commons might be carried out in the old way; that taxes might be lessened. Henry stood fast; he could reckon upon fifty thousand men from the South. Aske was too mild for a leader of rebellion; he disbanded his army on promise of a Northern Parliament, and even visited the King.

Pope Paul III. rejoiced over the English rising, which was called the Pilgrimage of Grace; he vainly strove to reconcile France and Spain with a view to a Crusade against the heretics over the sea. Early in 1537 some of the rebels foolishly took up arms again, and Carlisle was assaulted. The Duke of Norfolk forthwith proclaimed martial law, and executed seventy-four persons, clergymen and laymen. Aske and other leaders were put on their trial at London; they were mostly hanged, as were some of the great Northern Abbots. So much for home affairs; abroad, English ships became a prey to foreign cruisers, both French and Spanish.

Henry had to strengthen his Southern coasts with the fortresses we still see, the Abbey lands providing the money needed.

All this time the new learning was making steady progress; Cromwell encouraged mystery plays, which laughed at rites of the old faith. But a still more deadly blow was now dealt to Roman notions; the August of 1537 was to behold an authorised English Bible. The Convocation had petitioned for such a work in the previous year, and Coverdale had completed his translation rather earlier under Cromwell's directions; it was now licensed by the King, but was in the end rejected. Tyndale's translation, comprising the New Testament and the Old Testament to the end of the Chronicles, supplied two-thirds of the new Bible; the other third, including the Apocrypha, was furnished by Coverdale, who had already Englished many of Luther's hymns. To Coverdale, moreover, we owe the flowing and musical Prayer-Book Psalms; here some of his fine old Yorkshire words have unhappily become obsolete. The new Bible was edited by Rogers (Queen Mary's first victim), who had been a friend of Tyndale's, and who now contributed the preface. The great work came out under the name of T. Matthew, since Tyndale's name would have shocked King Henry. The Bishops in the summer of 1537 were scattered by the plague, which raged at London, and thus they were unable to interfere. Cranmer received the Tyndale impression from abroad and laid it before Cromwell. King Henry sanctioned it, and his two advisers did their best to multiply copies of the Book. It was soon ordered to be set up in every parish church in England; it was afterwards corrected and known as the Bishops' Bible, and so became the foundation of the Version of 1611, still used by us. Strange it is that Tyndale, whom King Henry would gladly have burnt, should have furnished King Henry's realm with a translation of great part of the Bible, a version which was practically to keep its ground for nearly four hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*; also Eadie. Froude has misdated the sanction given to Tyndale's work by a whole year. Cover-

About the time of the arrival of Tyndale's Bible in England, the King and the Bishops strove to promote unity by publishing *The Institution of a Christian Man*, being an exposition of the Creed, the Sacraments, the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria. It is a statement of dogma that will satisfy neither Ultramontanes nor Presbyterians. All who had cure of souls were to read a portion of it every Sunday and holiday for three years. A revised copy was put forth six years later under the new title of a *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. Shortly after these official attempts at religious reform in 1537, the future Edward VI. was born and his mother died.

France and Spain had been at war for many months, and thus the late rising in England had not gained much strength from outside. The two great rival Monarchs met the Pope at Nice in the summer of 1538, and the truce there made boded no good to England. Meanwhile many of the Abbeys in our country were being given up to the Crown. The impostures connected with relics were made manifest to all men. The blood of Hales and the Rood of Boxley, with many another religious juggle, disappeared for ever. The shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury became the prey of the Crown, his bones were burnt, and his name was erased from English prayer-books. Stung by this profanation, Pope Paul III. launched his Bull (it had been long prepared) against King Henry, who was now by solemn decree deposed from his throne. Cardinal Pole published a violent book of his own against his Tudor kinsman. The English Antichrist was coupled with the dog Luther. The Pope's partisans in England were at once laid hold of, and some of the noblest in the land lost their heads. Old Lady Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets, the Kingmaker's granddaughter, was thrown into prison, and was long afterwards beheaded.

There were now four parties in England. I., the believers in the Pope, so few that they are hardly worth speaking of.

dale's version had "do penance," where Tyndale wrote, "repent;" every scholar knows the true sense of *metanoia*.

II. The high Anglicans, who rejected the Pope, took little thought of the new Bible, and held fast to Transubstantiation and most of the Roman doctrines; their foreign policy was alliance with Spain, and their leaders were Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstall.

III. The low Anglicans, who as yet held to Transubstantiation, but rejected most other distinctive Roman doctrines; they did their best to spread the new Bible through the land; their foreign policy was alliance, possibly with France, certainly with the German Princes; their leaders were Cromwell, Cranmer, and Latimer. They bore sway from 1536 to 1539.

IV. A despised herd of Zwinglians and Anabaptists, who were commonly looked upon as food for the fire.

These last were as much hated in Germany as in England; and Henry was now, in 1538, making overtures to the German Princes, finding both France and Spain untrustworthy. Some Lutheran divines came over to confer with the Anglican Churchmen, and certain Articles (not long-lived) were agreed upon, which read like a translation of the Confession of Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> A victim was found to prove the King's orthodoxy, so as to satisfy sound Lutherans. Lambert was brought to trial in Westminster Hall; Henry heard the cause with all solemnity, while the Lords Spiritual and Temporal sat around. The prisoner could not be brought to accept Transubstantiation, and was therefore burnt.

Towards the end of the year Spain waxed threatening, and Pole was becoming a great personage. Early in 1539 the Emperor's fleets at Antwerp were being prepared for the invasion of England. Our Southern shires were held in readiness for defence. Henry never showed to such advantage as on these occasions. Thousands of Englishmen took up arms, the very men on whose treason Pole had calculated. Hall sets before us the fifteen thousand Londoners, pikemen, archers, musketeers, who marched through the City and were reviewed by King Henry. London has always (except in 1780) piloted England for good, just as Paris

<sup>1</sup> See Jacob's *Lutheran Movement in England*, 136.

since 1400 has almost always piloted France for evil. The Emperor Charles saw the strength of England's position, and wisely dropped all purpose of war.

Henry in vain strove to enforce religious moderation upon his subjects. The forward party insulted the Bishops and made a bad use of the Scriptures now placed in their hands; Transubstantiation was a most tempting subject for laughter. To correct these matters of dispute a new Parliament was called in the spring of 1539; Cromwell did his utmost to secure a majority; some of the nobles went round canvassing for the Government; in one case the Crown set aside certain members already elected. The two Convocations on this occasion sat as one. A religious debate soon began, in which the King took part; Cranmer spoke for three days on the side of progress; and Henry was entrusted with the right of issuing proclamations that should have the authority of Acts of Parliament. He was now empowered to seize upon the Abbeys that still remained after the former dissolution. These were mostly given to the new families that were entering the House of Lords, or were obtained on easy terms by the rising men of the middle class. The common folk were eager to seize the iron, lead, doors, and windows of the noble buildings. The proportion of clergy to laity in the House of Lords was changed; no longer were more than thirty mitred Abbots to sit in Parliament. Three of them were executed later in the year, one of whom was Whiting of Glastonbury, a man of fourscore, whose Abbey seems to have been the best conducted of any, just as that of St. Albans seems to have been the worst, if we may judge by the accusations made by the old Church authorities. Between these two extremes came the great mass of English foundations as regards piety and good order.<sup>1</sup>

If we go into the question of monastic morals, it seems altogether impossible for thousands of priests and nuns to preserve their purity if fettered by the law of celibacy; a law discountenanced by the New Testament, and only

<sup>1</sup> Hallam seems to me to take the fairest view of the Abbeys and of the state of morals there to be found.



established in the Western Church by the most strenuous efforts of the Papal See. Unless in very late times, there is no country, as far as I know, that has been able to combine clerical celibacy with stern morality. The alms given at the doors of the Abbeys, as a general rule, only promote beggary and idleness. We may admire the crumbling ruins of Tintern or Rievaulx, and yet rejoice that their lands have passed into lay hands. At the same time, nothing can excuse the shameful wastefulness of King Henry, who had an unequalled opportunity before him. He endowed only six new bishoprics; he left Northumberland, Suffolk, and Cornwall without Prelates; he founded no University at Dublin, no college for Wales, and not many grammar schools. He set the example of plundering the manors of the various sees, an evil practice continued by his children; he never restored the rectorial tithes, appropriated by the Monasteries, and now due to hundreds of English parishes; these tithes became lay impropriations, the shame of the Anglican Church. The libraries of the Monasteries were scattered or destroyed; it is a wonder that so many old works bearing on our history and our language still remain. Rents were raised throughout the land, and sturdy beggars abounded. We are not surprised that some have called the English Reformation "a limb ill set."<sup>1</sup>

In June 1539 the Six Articles were passed, enforcing Transubstantiation, clerical celibacy, vows of chastity, private Masses, and auricular confession; the Cup was not to be an essential when the laity partook of the Eucharist. The stake was threatened if men denied the first of these Articles; priests who had married were ordered to send away their wives. All the temporal Lords and most of the Bishops were of one opinion in upholding the new legislation, about which Melanchthon wrote in horror; all chance of religious unity between the Lutherans and Anglicans was now at an end. Luther declared in a letter that Henry wished to kill the Pope's body but to keep the Pope's soul. A Commission was appointed, which

<sup>1</sup> The traveller sees in most Protestant Swiss towns various old monastic buildings now put to a very good use. Why was it not so in England?

hunted down all Londoners guilty of slighting the Sacrament.

Throughout this summer Henry was negotiating his fourth marriage with Anne of Cleves, an arrangement which was meant to bind him closer to the German Protestants. This was most needful; never had Charles and Francis seemed to be better friends than at this moment, the time of the Ghent rebellion. Anne was brought to England, but did not satisfy King Henry's taste in beauty. Early in 1540 the luckless pair were wedded. Cromwell seemed to be at the height of his power; he had been stuffed with Abbey lands, and had been created Earl of Essex, but he could not make head against the plotting Bishops, his enemies. His foreign policy had proved a failure. This man of blood, Henry's worthy Minister, attainted his victims in Parliament up to the last. But in June the much-hated "Hammer of the monks" was sent to the Tower, attainted, and soon afterwards beheaded. Few Englishmen have done so much work within eight years. Two days after the great Minister's death Henry proved to the world his impartiality by hanging three followers of the Pope, and by burning three Gospellers; the death of one of these last, Barnes, was a direct insult to Germany. But Henry was now, since Cromwell was out of the way, bent on alliance with the Emperor, and cared little for the Lutheran Princes. They were further insulted about this time by the dissolution of the new Queen Anne's marriage; Henry took his fifth Queen, Catherine Howard, a few months later.

The year 1541 saw Henry on his way to York, hoping there to meet his nephew, the Scotch King, who was, however, entangled in the wiles of the Papal party, and surrounded by Bishops far more debauched than their brethren in England. Early in 1542 a new Parliament met, which attainted Queen Catherine for her unchastity. A new war was now about to break out; in the summer the Emperor Charles was assailed by France and Turkey, and less openly by Rome; he therefore looked to England as his best ally. Scotland joined in the fray on the side of France, reaped nothing but disaster, and soon had to mourn

her King's death. In 1543 quarrels between fishermen brought on a rupture between England and France, and Henry forthwith made a treaty with the Emperor. Pope Paul's one idea, in the midst of this weltering confusion, was how he might best crush England; the Turk, now sweeping the Mediterranean, was a harmless Sovereign compared with Henry VIII. English troops were already serving in Charles's army. In 1544 Edinburgh was sacked and burned by an English host, and the Scotch Marches were pitilessly ravaged. In the summer Henry crossed the sea and took Boulogne after a long siege, while Charles marched almost up to Paris. He then suddenly made peace, throwing over his English ally, who was now left exposed to the whole force of France. The German Princes once more made overtures to Henry, who avowed that the two nations had one certain enemy, the Bishop of Rome. The money got from the English Abbeys had all been spent, so early in 1545 recourse was had to a Benevolence, while the war both with France and Scotland went forward. The worthless Parliament made over to the Crown all colleges and hospitals, much to the alarm of Oxford and Cambridge. This year the Council of Trent first met, after long delays; and Charles seemed about at last to take the German Protestants in hand. England was expecting a French invasion, which united the whole land as one. There was a fruitless incursion of the foreigners into the Isle of Wight, but the plague swept them off by thousands. Meanwhile Scotland had once more been ravaged by an English host. In the next year peace was made with France, and the English currency was debased, a ruinous expedient worthy of Henry.

All this time England at home was drawing further from the Pope. Written prayers and services in the vulgar tongue may be traced from the days of Richard II. downwards; the Breviary had been revised, and the Portuis, further reformed, had been adopted by Convocation. This body in 1543 ordered a Chapter of the Bible to be read on every Sunday and holiday without exposition by the curate of every parish church. In 1544 the English

Litany was sanctioned by Convocation, and promulgated by the Crown, much as we now use it. More English prayers were added, and also a service for the burial of the dead; but the new publication pleased neither the Anglican friends of Gardiner nor the hot Gospellers. The English Bible had been of late checked in its progress. In 1542 Cranmer had exhorted the Bishops to undertake another revision of the Scriptures. Gardiner did his best to hamper it by bringing forward a list of 102 Latin words, which ought to be retained in the future English text, "for the majesty of the matter in them contained."<sup>1</sup> But the Bible was not to be spoilt; no fewer than twelve editions of it had come out since the Royal sanction in 1537. In 1543 a check came; Parliament enacted that the Bible might be read by the upper classes, but not by artificers, apprentices, husbandmen, labourers, or women of the lower class. Two years later King Henry thus lectured his Parliament: "Some are called Papists, some Lutherans, and some Anabaptists, names devised of the Devil. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung, and jangled in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same." Englishmen have always had a taste for theological disputation.

In 1546, the last year which he saw to the end, Henry's chief exploits were the burning of Anne Askew and the beheading of Lord Surrey, one of the favoured sons of the English Muse. The Duke of Norfolk had a most narrow escape from the axe. His party were losing ground; King Henry was once more making advances to the Lutheran Princes, who were now on the edge of a precipice; but these advances came to nothing. In the first month of 1547 Henry died, one of the most puzzling characters in history; soiled by atrocious crimes, yet at the same time the pilot who guided the English ship into the haven of Reform. He must ever be an object of interest to all who have a reverence for the Anglican Middle Way. His own

<sup>1</sup> Among these majestic words were *olacaustra* (sic), *baptizare*, *sacramentum*, *benedictio*, *satisfactio*, *peccator*, *episcopus*, *zizania*, *confessio*, *hostia*.



subjects, fleeced as they were by him, seem always to have looked upon him as a model Englishman. Tacitus alone could do justice to that strange medley of good and evil meeting in one man. King Henry was happy in the time of his reign; he seemed to be the one man that stood between England and civil war.<sup>1</sup> About the period that his reforms were first begun, old soldiers of Barnet and Tewkesbury were still tottering on the brink of the grave; these men of much experience could tell their grandchildren that anything was better than internal strife or a disputed succession to the Crown. It was a happy thing for future Englishmen that the King had a passion for legality; he contrived to give to his worst acts the sanction of law, much as William the Conqueror had contrived long before.

Edward VI., a child nine years old, fell at once into the hands of his uncle, the Protector Somerset, Bishop Gardiner being carefully set aside. Hardly was King Henry in his grave than some of the Gospellers began to pull down images and crucifixes; Ridley, not yet a Bishop, stood forward on the side of these men, while Cranmer ate meat openly in Lent. It was said that Henry had but one eye and saw not God's truth perfectly. In a few months Somerset began a campaign against pictures and images; there was to be no Lutheran moderation in this matter; Calvin was soon to become the oracle of all sound English Gospellers. A commission of about thirty men, priests and laymen, were sent over all England and Wales to examine the ignorant clergy; preaching and Scriptural learning were especially insisted upon. Injunctions were also issued, forbidding superstitious ceremonies; a Chapter of the Bible was to be read in church, morning and evening; the English Litany was no longer to be said in procession; pulpits were to be set up by the churchwardens. A Homily was to be read on every Sunday; these Homilies had been drawn up some years earlier by Cranmer, Bonner, and others. The clergy were forbidden to haunt taverns or to spend their time over cards; they were to examine

<sup>1</sup> He also held the balance between France and Spain, and took for his motto—*Cui adhæreo præest.*



those who went to Confession as to their knowledge of the simplest truths; they were to provide for the poor, for needy scholars, and for the repair of chancels. The New Testament in Latin and English and the Paraphrase of Erasmus were recommended to the clergy. Simony and tithe-stealing were sternly forbidden; labour during harvest upon holy days was allowed.

England was now ruled by a Privy Council, whose members were hungering for lavish pay in requital of their services. The chantries were tempting booty, being well endowed; they were disestablished late in 1547 by Act of Parliament; Cranmer in vain strove to preserve them for the use of the working clergy. Their destruction was a blow to education; very few grammar schools were now founded to compensate for the loss of the vanished chantries.<sup>1</sup> The ornaments of churches were sold and scrambled for by greedy courtiers. Late in the year Convocation met; the fixed purpose of the authorities was to have one and the same service in English throughout the land, and to check the hot-headed preachers who were eager for further change. Cranmer at first, not less than Gardiner, stood firm for the Mass. Convocation passed a canon for Communion in both kinds; it was proposed in the Commons that the clergy might take wives. In the meantime Somerset led an army into Scotland and won the field of Pinkie, which closes the list of the great battles between England and her neighbour, a blood-stained record of 250 years.

In 1548 France and England were fighting out their quarrel on Scotch ground, and the young Queen Mary was sent South over the sea to be married to the first of her three bridegrooms. At home there was a rising in Cornwall; Ridley was bringing Cranmer by degrees to forsake the old belief in Transubstantiation; Calvin from abroad was exhorting Somerset to discard moderation in reforming religion and to go boldly forward. Bishop Gardiner, an

<sup>1</sup> See in Strype's *Life of Parker* the sad fate of Stoke College, i. 45. The future Archbishop could save from the spoilers only one pane of glass with the founder's arms.

inconvenient foe, was flung into the Tower, there to abide for five years. Somerset, enriched with new grants of land, was building a palace with the stones of churches. Meanwhile the peasants saw arable land converted into pasture and commons enclosed; the currency was debased more than ever; many families were brought to beggary, while peculation was to be found everywhere. Preachers, such as Lever and Latimer, in vain denounced the prevailing oppression, the work of the rich and powerful; yeomen could no longer set their sons to school. Somerset, roused by the cry of the poor, sent out commissioners to inquire into grievances. This was an age of transition, and such a period usually bears heavily upon the low and the needy.

In November Parliament met to sanction various changes in theology; Archbishop Cranmer had brought over to England various foreign Reformers, such as Bucer, Peter Martyr, A Lasco, and Ochino. The English clergy were at last allowed to marry; fasting was ordered to be continued, since the fishing trade was the nursery of English seamen. The Eucharist was a deep question, vehemently debated in the House of Lords; Cranmer was now changing his opinion upon that mysterious subject. Tunstall, Bonner, and six other Bishops fought stubbornly, but in vain, for the old ideas. Early in 1549 the new Prayer-Book came out, leaning much to the ancient form; about nine-tenths of it came from the old Latin service books. It is practically the Prayer-Book we now use; its noble pathos is due to Cranmer, much as the language of the New Testament reminds us of Tyndale.<sup>1</sup>

All this interest in theology marched side by side with infamous misgovernment in the things of this world; Somerset was borrowing from the Antwerp Jews at 13 per cent, trusting to the English church bells as security. The French King, eager to recover Boulogne, was fostering civil war in our island. Paget, the wisest man in the Council, in vain besought Somerset to walk warily. The Protector almost seemed to encourage oppressed subjects

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs traces much of the Offices for Baptism and Matrimony to the Ritual drawn up by Bucer for the Archbishop of Cologne in 1543.

when they rebelled. Insurrection had now a fresh pretext; the new English Liturgy was first read on Whitsunday 1549. The very next day the Devonshire peasants broke out; they would have the old Latin Mass and nothing else; they would not leave their beads, holy bread, and holy water. They sent up a petition for the old system of King Henry; the new Service was but a Christmas game, and was of no use to their Cornish brethren, many of whom knew no English. The Bible must be called in, or heretics could not be confounded; a part of the Abbeys must be restored. Somerset prepared to resist the rebels, and sent Bishop Bonner to the Tower, there to remain for four years. The Oxfordshire peasants were first put down, while Exeter held out manfully against twenty thousand rebels. A battle was fought, wherein a thousand Western men fell; it is strange to find English peasants fighting to uphold the Mass against Italian musqueteers, hired to put it down. The country was pillaged by Somerset's victorious troops; and a still greater number of rebels fell in a second battle; about 4000 altogether were killed. At the same time another rebellion broke out in Norfolk, caused by the enclosure of commons, not by the change in religion; here the peasants lived for a month at free quarters at the gentry's cost. They then stormed Norwich; but Warwick, aided by German levies, routed the rebels, slaying 3500 of them. A Yorkshire rising was early put down. Meanwhile a war with France had been provoked, and the Emperor's alliance was anything but sure. The Council rose against Somerset, whose Protectorate had been a failure. This great nobleman fell from power, after in vain trying to make a tool of young King Edward for the purpose of civil war. But though Somerset was in the Tower, the new Government did not slacken their zeal against images and paintings; the destruction of missals and primers in Latin or English was enjoined.

The year 1550 began with the deposition of Somerset from the Protectorate; he had wrought so much mischief to England that, finding herself powerless, she was now forced to give up her conquest, Boulogne, to the French on receiving

a vast sum of money. Warwick, the most unscrupulous of men, was now at the helm, and the Reformation made progress; Bonner and Gardiner were deprived of their sees, the one being succeeded by Ridley, the other by Ponet, the basest in character of all the Reformers. Learning was discredited, and the parish cures were most unworthily filled. The people seemed to be drifting into anarchy. Anne Askew had been burnt for denying Transubstantiation, and now Joan Bocher was burnt for errors as to the Incarnation; there was also another victim. Bishop Ridley took the lead in the matter of the Eucharist, and broke down the altar in his Cathedral; this change the Council soon enforced upon all England. If the Council were rash, still more unwisdom was shown abroad; Charles V., by his famous persecuting edict, drove crowds of hard-working Flemings into England, where they were most welcome. But the native English were so discontented that the old Royal bodyguard of one hundred yeomen was raised to a thousand, and there were besides large bodies of German and Italian hirelings. Somerset had now got a fresh lease of power, and promoted Hooper, the most violent of all the English Reformers, a champion of the Zurich theology, to the Bishopric of Gloucester; meanwhile Gardiner was sentenced to imprisonment without pen, ink, or paper.

Hooper refused to wear the appointed Episcopal vestments. For this, early in 1551, the Council threw him into prison; the foreign Reformers, then in England, thought him in the wrong, and in the end he gave way to Cranmer and Ridley. Anything more absurd than the whole of this business cannot be imagined, yet it was the beginning of English Puritanism. The King's sister, the Lady Mary, was not allowed to hear Mass, at which her cousin, Charles V., still at the height of his power, most naturally took offence and threatened war. The Bishops were ready to give way, but King Edward declared that his sister should never have her Mass. Church robbery went on, the Bishops' lands being now handed over to laymen; Warwick had his eye on the See of Durham, and its Bishop, Tunstall, was later sent to the Tower. The currency had now become



worse than ever. In the autumn Somerset resolved to throw himself upon the people and strike another blow for the chief seat; but he was betrayed to his great enemy Warwick, who had now become Duke of Northumberland. The King's uncle was tried and lost his head, amid the groans of the people, his admirers.

All this time the Prayer-Book now in use had been attacked by Hooper and the foreign Reformers residing in England, such as the German Bucer and the Italian Peter Martyr. They disliked the use of vestments, wafer bread, exorcism, chrism, prayers for the dead, and anointing the sick. The young King favoured the foreign opinions and urged changes on Convocation. At length, early in 1552, the revised Prayer-Book, the second of King Edward VI., was ready for the printer, and its future use throughout all England on 1st November was enjoined. Archbishop Cranmer protested against the favourite idea of Calvinists, that whatever is not commanded in Scripture ought to be laid aside. He urged that the laity should still be made to kneel on receiving the Eucharist. He carried his point, but a declaration, afterwards known as the Black Rubric, was added to the service. Ridley and other Bishops at once dropped their copes, vestments, and crosses. Had Edward VI. lived much longer, further alterations would have been made. All through this year, 1552, the Articles of religion, forty-two in number, were being framed by the higher clergy, and were doubtless discussed in Convocation. They were passed in the next year, were again revised in 1562, and have been unaltered since 1571; they are now known as the Thirty-nine Articles. A bungling attempt was also made at compiling a body of Canon Law, but this happily came to nothing.

War had broken out in Italy between the great Powers; in 1552 the mighty Emperor, long so prosperous, felt all giving way under his feet. He was chased over the Alps by the German Protestants; he then lost a fine army when besieging the French in Metz. No more would he be able to threaten England with war. His favourite device, the Council of Trent, was for the time blown into space. A



bitter enemy to this Council, Northumberland, was now once more at his old work, robbing the English churches of anything they held worth seizing; even the tombs of old English heroes were now plucked down; even private houses were ransacked in the hope of finding Church ornaments. He about this time obtained a grant of the estates of the See of Durham.

Early in 1553 he called a Parliament, of which the members were named by himself; these Parliaments had, as to their composition, sadly degenerated since Plantagenet times. In this short reign of Edward VI. twenty-two boroughs were created or restored; fourteen more were added by Queen Mary, and sixty-two by Queen Elizabeth; these, known later as rotten boroughs, lasted down to 1832, and were mostly represented by placemen and lawyers eager for preferment.<sup>1</sup> It seems that in Edward's reign estates worth about five millions in our modern currency were divided by his Ministers among themselves; and this at a time of universal misery, owing to the debased coinage. Even the new Parliament, servile as it was, haggled long before granting the subsidies desired by Northumberland, and he would not allow it to sit beyond a month. He was now aiming high; he married his son, Lord Dudley, a boy of seventeen, to Lady Jane Grey, great-niece of Henry VIII., and a possible heiress to the Crown. In May King Edward was visibly dying; he became a mere tool in the powerful Minister's hands, and forced the unwilling Peers and Judges to disinherit his sister Mary and to substitute the Lady Jane. Cranmer was the last to subscribe, much against the grain. On 6th July the boy Edward died, not yet sixteen.

Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen, but the hearts of the people were with Mary, the rightful heiress, who was able to escape into East Anglia. Ridley and Sandys preached in vain on behalf of the fair usurper, known as the Twelfth-day Queen. The plot of the detested Northumberland was a piece of mad folly, and Mary was soon installed in her rightful seat by all England. Her first care was to make

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Constitutional History*.

Gardiner Lord Chancellor and to restore the Bishops of his way of thinking; Bonner was heartily welcomed by the Londoners, who knew not the future. Still the late King's body was buried at Westminster according to the new rite, Cranmer reading the service. The London mob (it included 15,000 foreign refugees) almost murdered a preacher of the old faith, and the Queen had to grant toleration to all. Northumberland, with two accomplices, was sent to the block, showing arrant cowardice at the last. The foreign Reformers were ordered to leave England, and the Bishops of the New Learning were deprived. The old Mass was easily restored throughout the land by the various parishes, though Cranmer boldly offered to defend the new Service book against any impugner; he was at once sent to join Ridley and Latimer in the Tower. Queen Mary had already had an interview with a disguised agent of the Pope, and she advised cautious delay; her sister Elizabeth was every whit as popular as herself, and was no devotee of Rome. The envoys of Spain and France, Renard and Noailles, from whom we derive most of our facts as to this reign, were struggling for the English alliance; and Mary's union with the heir to the Spanish crown was already discussed, although loathed by the populace. She even knelt to her Council on one occasion; she was a true Tudor when she had set her heart upon any object. A Parliament met in October, the product of the fairest election that had taken place for many years. Both Lords and Commons avowed that they would never slacken their grip on the Abbey lands. Still they passed an Act which legitimated Mary without any reference to the Pope. Meanwhile Convocation met and wrangled over the Eucharist; the House of Commons restored the Mass by a vote of 350 to 80, and enforced both clerical celibacy and religious toleration. In November Mary yielded to Renard and declared for the Spanish match, so hated by her subjects, including Gardiner. In vain did the Speaker of the Commons recommend an English husband; the Parliament was soon dissolved. Mary was now infuriated against her sister Elizabeth, whom all men acclaimed as next heiress to

the Crown. On the other hand, the Queen saw her dearest wishes on the point of being gratified; the Emperor sent over the draft of a treaty granting everything to England; the Pope was to concede a dispensation for Mary to marry her cousin Philip. She began to talk of a standing army. Still this year, 1553, deserves record as all but entirely free from blood; the five next years were to be most different.

Noailles began the next year, 1554, by stirring up a Protestant rising against the Queen, but the plot was betrayed to Gardiner, the arch-enemy of anything like Protestantism. In January Sir Thomas Wyatt called the Kentish men to arms, as Jack Cade had done a hundred years earlier. They were joined by hundreds of Londoners, men in the service of the Crown. But Mary, her father's own daughter, addressed the men of the City in the Guildhall, and promised to give up the Spanish match should Parliament object. Thousands now enrolled themselves in her cause, and Wyatt made senseless delay. He held Southwark for some days, and then crossed the Thames at Kingston; he forced his way to Ludgate, but was soon afterwards taken prisoner. A hundred of the rebels were hung; the innocent Lady Jane Grey was put to death, as was her more guilty father, the Duke of Suffolk. The Lady Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, and the Emperor was urgent that she should die; her great champion was Lord Howard. There were two parties in Mary's Council: the statesmen headed by Paget, and the bigots headed by Gardiner; they agreed at last not to oppose the Spanish match, and took the Emperor's bribes to a large amount. He strove, but in vain, to bridle Gardiner's zeal, the Chancellor being already bent on persecution. France gave shelter to the English Protestant refugees, who attacked all Spanish ships, and Mary could obtain no redress. She had Wyatt in her hands, and she put him to death, after in vain attempting to procure evidence from him against Elizabeth. Throgmorton, more happy, was acquitted by a London jury in spite of the Court—a most rare event in those days. The Parliament had met, and had made little opposition to

the Spanish match, and Gardiner was able once more to enact statutes against heresy. Paget led the opposition with great vigour in favour of tolerance. The Queen was at last obliged to release her sister from the Tower, but sought consolation in processions round various churches, with banners and Bishops. She became hysterical and ill-tempered; but she accomplished her dearest wish, being married to Philip of Spain, a man twelve years younger than herself, in Winchester Cathedral, the great event of this summer. His Spanish retinue was ill received in London, the friars being especially obnoxious. It was feared that England would be dragged into the war now raging against France. Before two months were over Philip was eager to leave his elderly bride, who deemed herself pregnant. Bishop Bonner attempted an inquisition into the lives of his clergy, but this he was forced to abandon; Renard gave good advice, dissuading anything like hurry. A new Parliament was called in October, and it proved favourable to the Court. The great question was the reconciliation with Rome; Gardiner himself saw that the system of Henry VIII., so long advocated by the wary Bishop, must break down; the Latin Mass was well established throughout the land, but there must be the Pope as well. England must fall into line with France and Spain in a religious point of view. But to effect this great end Pope Julius III. would have to confirm the possession of the English abbeys to their sacrilegious lay owners. He haggled long over the weighty concession, a bitter pill to Roman lawgivers. Renard insisted on the confirmation by Rome of all the heretical acts done in England for the last twenty years, such as marriages and ordinations; the Pope must talk little about his authority, but much about piety and love. The new Parliament repealed the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who had long been waiting at Brussels, and was now, being Papal Legate, hailed as England's Polar star. Soon afterwards a courier arrived from the Pope, who, wise in time, had ceased to haggle about the Abbey lands. After a speech from the Legate, the Lords and Commons voted the return of England to the Apostolic See. On Novem-



ber 30 Philip, Mary, and Pole met the Parliament at Whitehall; Gardiner, as Chancellor, offered to speak for the great assembly and asked for absolution; all knelt, and Pole, the one English subject who has ever seen an English Parliament grovel before him, pronounced the desired absolution. In his letter to Rome he likened Philip to Christ, and Mary to her great namesake. Convocation became bold, and demanded the repeal of the Statute of Mortmain, besides the right to burn heretics, and the exemption of the clergy from the authority of secular magistrates. Gardiner saw his chance; the Commons showed much interest in the Abbey lands, but little in the cause of humanity; they now passed the statutes for burning heretics, and for allowing the Bishops to arrest men at discretion. The Lords joined in passing the new laws. So fierce were the debates, that the Houses sat without a Christmas recess; they steadily refused to crown Philip King or to cut off Elizabeth's rights.

Early in 1555 they passed the Great Bill, as it was called, repealing most of King Henry's laws against Rome during the last twenty-five years. At the same time, much to Pole's disgust, they inserted in an Act of Parliament the Pope's dispensation as to the Abbey lands, while limiting his jurisdiction; laymen entitled to tithes were specially authorised to recover them. The lay peers showed that they had no confidence in Philip, so this famous Parliament was dissolved. It had allowed the burning of heretics, but at the same time had checked the eagerness of the clergy to enslave the laity. The Bishops were now directed by Pole to reconcile their clergy, and these last were to reconcile the laity in every diocese. Dark days were now at hand; Mary had for a year and a half shown little that can be called cruelty; she was now to earn the hideous nickname that will for ever cling to her memory. The first victims of the Marian persecution were Rogers, Tyndale's successor, and the renowned Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester. The people rejoiced on seeing that neither of them flinched when at the stake. Renard disapproved of this barbarity, and Philip's Spanish chaplain preached a



sermon in the Royal presence wherein he inveighed against the tyranny of the Bishops.<sup>1</sup> The lay Lords were strong against Gardiner's new policy; a conspiracy of the lower orders was discovered and thwarted. Renard protested against the bad lives of the clergy, which he hoped Pole would reform. In April Mary believed herself on the point of giving an heir to England; others talked of a forged child. Priests marched in long processions, chanting and praying, but nothing came of it. The Queen fell into despair, and ordered the Bishops to burn more victims. Fifty persons were accordingly led to the stake in the dioceses of Pole and Bonner, and in that of Rochester. The Gospellers were nearly all found in the South-East of England, in the same shires that were afterwards the main strength of the Long Parliament. If we except five Bishops, the victims were all persons of little mark; the higher classes were prudently let alone. Meanwhile Cardinal Caraffa, the deadly enemy both of Pole and Spain, had been elected Pope, taking the name of Paul IV. The great Emperor, Charles V., a weary and shattered man, had resolved to abdicate, and his son Philip's presence was much needed at Brussels. He therefore left his blighted wife Mary, though he seems to have never forgotten her blooming sister Elizabeth, now restored to liberty. The King and Queen had passed a dreary year and rather more in each other's company, and Philip, when abroad, hastened to make up for lost time by throwing himself into the arms of the lowest women. The persecution, now that the Spanish Prince was gone, could march forward unchecked. Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford, lighting such a candle in England as was never to be put out; Cranmer followed them to the stake a few months later. In the winter of this year their great enemy Gardiner died, a statesman stained with the martyrs' blood, but still a sound Englishman in various matters political that might be named. The wrath of the people was turned chiefly upon Bonner;

<sup>1</sup> Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England*, ii. 252, proves that the preacher was in truth one of the fiercest champions of persecution, having written a book on the subject.

he would have been a happier man had he stuck to his old See of Hereford, but being where he was, under the eye of the Court, in the midst of a nest of heretics, he was forced to go on with his bloody work. Persecution did little good; he was told that he had lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists within the last twelve-month. The victims were not only burnt, but starved in prison. Parliament met in October, and voted subsidies to the Crown. Mary was eager to make over to the Pope once more the first-fruits of and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices, though this was to sacrifice one-sixth of the national revenue. There was violent opposition in the Commons; they were speedily dissolved, and some of the boldest speakers were sent to the Tower. Philip now recalled his Spanish following, much to his Queen's sorrow; she consoled herself by rebuilding some of the old religious houses near London. Pole was henceforth the only man upon whom she could lean. So savage was her mood, that she burnt Cranmer after his recantation, though even the Spanish Inquisition would under the circumstances have given him a milder death. Pole was appointed next day to the See of Canterbury, and bore his share in the dark deeds yet to come.

This happened early in 1556, when France and Spain had made a truce for five years. The former country was now backing a fresh English conspiracy against Mary, but the plotters were racked and hung. More Gospellers were burnt, sometimes in large batches; the worst case was in Guernsey, where a mother at the stake gave birth to a child, which was tossed back into the fire. Mary in vain demanded the surrender of her traitors in France, men who made piratical war upon Spain, setting an example that was to bear fruit for the next fifty years. Pope Paul IV., the most vigorous of old men, declared the late truce at an end, deprived King Philip of Naples, and expected in Italy the succour of a French host. King Henry was already hoping to seize Calais, which the garrison was ready to betray. At home famine was threatening England, and Pole in vain lectured the Londoners on their sympathy with the heretics.

The Queen set aside the law, and appointed a Commission of twenty to fine and imprison these misbelieving wretches without recourse to a jury.

In 1557 the bones of dead heretics were dug up and burnt both at Oxford and Cambridge; nothing was too petty for the Queen's Government. She was consoled for a few weeks by the presence of the truant Philip, who came to drag England into his war with France. He was aided by an unhopèd-for chance; a band of the refugees protected by King Henry seized Scarborough Castle, but ended on the gallows; the English Council were so provoked that they declared war upon France. Pope Paul avenged his French allies by cancelling Cardinal Pole's legation. Queen Mary in vain protested, recounting what she had done for true religion. Paul, whose master passion was hatred of Spain, appointed another Legate in the person of Peto; him Mary forbade to accept the office. At this time the Spaniards overthrew France in the great battle of St. Quentin; their English allies arrived in time only for the storm and sack of the hapless town. Pope Paul, who had been unlucky in his own war, had to submit to the Spanish yoke in Italy, yet he would not restore Pole to his old office, even hinting at the Prelate's heresy. Mary had collected money for the war by a forced loan, yet she shamefully neglected Calais and its garrison.

Early in 1558 Guise led the French to the siege of England's brightest jewel on the mainland; the garrison numbered only five hundred; the English ships which should have helped the besieged were not seaworthy. On the 6th of January the French stormed, the town surrendered, and the spoil was very great. An English fleet hastening too late to the rescue was nearly destroyed by a tempest. King Philip stood manfully by his ally, but the English Government had lost their heads. Guisnes, close to Calais, had also to yield to the valiant Guise, and English domination on the Continent came to an end. The new Parliament met and voted an enormous subsidy, which was not fairly collected. The nation set down its disasters to the Spanish alliance and to the wrath of Heaven against Queen Mary,

under whom nothing but the Pope's clergy could thrive. There was no loyalty; the refugees at Geneva put forth books advocating regicide. Refugees from any nation are usually hot-headed men, bent on their own purpose; and the English exiles of 1558 were no exception to the rule. A statesman at home thus described the condition of the realm in Queen Mary's last year: "Here is nothing but firing, heading, hanging, quartering, burning, taxing, and levying; a few priests rule all." Fever and ague swept off thousands. The Queen once more thought herself with child, yet her Philip would not return. Scores of Gospellers were burnt, but Bonner had to hide his cruelties from the public eye. France and Spain were now thinking of peace, that they might at last unite to crush the heresies, which had rooted themselves fast in Europe, owing in a great degree to the wars of the two mighty nations. Mary herself was nearing her end. No more martyrs were burnt after the beginning of November; and Philip, already on good terms with Elizabeth, insisted that she should succeed Mary. On the 16th of November died the ill-starred Queen, declaring that Calais would be found written on her heart; Cardinal Pole died a few hours later. The Pope was never again to rule in England, although, to effect this end, three hundred Gospellers had been burnt within the last four years, and about one hundred more had been starved in gaol. The fruits of Papal rule were very clear to that generation, which was fond of repeating, "We cast off the Pope and forthwith we took Boulogne; we went back to the Pope and forthwith we lost Calais." How popular was Mary in her first year, when she took the place of a gang of knavish robbers! She might have easily restored to the clergy their Latin Mass, abstained from blood, and thus long delayed the Reformation in England. But she went on to make victims of the poor and lowly, who were thus enabled to preach the most eloquent of sermons against the Pope. Latimer's dying words have come true.

Two children of Henry VIII. had already borne sway; under the boy King organised robbery had spread wide ruin; under the woman organised murder had sent a thrill



through the land. The third child of the bluff Tudor, in bold contrast to her deceased kinsfolk, was now to reorganise the finances of England and to abstain from shedding blood in the cause of religion for nearly a score of years. Never had Sovereign such a chance of becoming nobly popular. Lords and Commons alike acclaimed her; the only possible rival was the Scotch girl, ready to become the tool of the hated French, the new masters of Calais. Elizabeth, a woman of twenty-five, came to rule a people, three-fourths of whom were still votaries of the Latin Mass, however little they might care for the Pope. She at once made Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon her chief advisers, the two Englishmen who possessed most intellect; many of the Bishops who had been appointed under Mary died soon after their old mistress. King Philip happily contented himself with bestowing bribes and advice when he might easily have invaded England. Do what she might, he felt himself constrained to stand by Elizabeth, who, had she been left to herself, was more inclined to a moderate Pope than to Calvin.

The year 1559 opened with overtures from the French King to the new Queen; the Spanish King, alarmed, offered his hand to Elizabeth if she would only profess the true religion. England was likened to a bone thrown between two dogs. Her new Lady was crowned in January; one Bishop alone consented to officiate though Mass was sung. A Parliament met; the Lower House was favourable to the Gospellers. The Bishops, now few in number, in vain opposed the restoration to the Crown of the first-fruits of ecclesiastical benefices. A subsidy was voted, to which all persons, spiritual as well as temporal, had to contribute. The Queen was entreated to take a husband, but this she refused, not for the last time. In February the English Litany was read in the Lower House, the members all kneeling. The bill for restoring the Crown's supremacy in Church matters with some difficulty passed the Commons; the Bishops vowed that they would rather die than submit to it. Convocation drew up five Articles asserting Transubstantiation and the Papal Supremacy, and Archbishop Heath,



one of the best of his school, argued for the authority of Rome. King Philip frowned at the Queen's proceedings; he knew that England was all but unarmed. The congress for peace now opened at Cambray; Elizabeth instructed her deputies to yield anything but Calais. But the treaty between France and Spain was made, Calais was not restored, and the English Reformation could now go forward. The Lords passed the Supremacy Bill in the teeth of the Bishops, and King Philip found himself bound by stress of politics to prevent any English rising against the new system. Elizabeth, unlike her father, refused to be called Head of the Church. Later on the Parliament listened to a theological dispute at Westminster between eight divines of the old creed and eight of their enemies; this ended in nothing, and two of the Bishops were sent to the Tower. Statutes against heresy were repealed and holders of English benefices had to forswear the Pope. "The country is lost to us now, body and soul," wrote the Spanish envoy. The Prayer-Book was then taken in hand; it was based upon King Edward's Second Book, though ornaments and vestments were tolerated, and in the Eucharist words were restored which seemed to recognise the Real Presence. There was no opposition to the English Prayer-Book in the Commons, and but little in the Lords. The Liturgy made its way gradually; out of 9400 persons holding cure of souls, less than 200 refused compliance with it; of the fourteen Bishops (Tunstall was among them) only one submitted. These English priests, ready to conform to anything so long as they might keep their livings, played a most useful part in the bold leap made by England from the Latin Mass to the English Communion. In this astonishing change, where the small minority of Englishmen so completely overpowered the large majority, the then actual state of clerical morality worked better in the long-run than if every parsonage had held a Borromeo or a Fénelon. Many a priest doubtless read the English service in public, and performed the old Latin rites on the sly over some dying sinner. Compromise lies at the root of the English character; never was this shown clearer than in Elizabeth's first years. Happily for England, the

Pope at this time abstained from setting up a rival Church in our island.

In May the Host was taken away from the Royal chapel, and the English service was used. The Queen was likened in the Commons to Moses, though Esther was the more usual comparison. Some proposed for her a Swedish match, some an Austrian. Much about this time the Reformation broke out in Scotland, where the debauched lives of the Bishops and priests outran anything known in England. The nobles were eager to plunder the wealthy Church, and the commons of the Lowlands had no love for the old system; the Abbeys were speedily pulled down, and Knox came to the front. One party looked to France for help, the other to England. Guise, the hero of Calais and the uncle of the Scotch Queen Mary, was now master at Paris, and sent thousands of French to put down the Scotch revolt against his sister, the Regent. On the other side, Elizabeth sent money to the rebels. "She will revolutionise all the world," wrote the Spanish envoy; "she is possessed with a hundred thousand devils." The last event in this year, 1559, one of the weightiest in its results that England has ever seen, was the consecration of Archbishop Parker by four other Bishops of Protestant views;<sup>1</sup> so grievous a blow was this to the Papal Church, that an astonishing lie had many years later to be concocted about the new Episcopal rites, and this was believed abroad for centuries. Parker was a most moderate man, a Churchman after Elizabeth's own heart; he and Cecil, representing Church and State, were old friends, and worked well together in these troublous times.

The year 1560, at its opening, beheld 3000 French quartered in Leith, who as yet seemed able to baffle the Scotch Protestants. Elizabeth sent a fleet into the Firth of Forth. France was now weakened by the first growls of her long civil war; the fleet therefore was followed by an English army, although King Philip became very angry at

<sup>1</sup> I am not sure that I ought to apply the word "Protestant" to any Englishman so early as this; but the word was well known in England seven years later. See Strype's *Parker*, i. 466.

this aid given to rebels. Cecil himself went down to Scotland, so great was the crisis. Queen Mary's mother, the Regent of Scotland, died most opportunely; the French surrendered Leith, and the Scotch Reformation was established. England was now to be the friend, not France, as of old. Henceforward the interests of England and Scotland were the same; the union of their Crowns and Parliaments was to come later. Elizabeth had thus been well rewarded for casting off the Roman yoke; it was Solomon's choice over again. Strange it is that what drew Scotland to England's side created a lasting breach between Ireland and England. Later in the year Mary Stuart's husband, King Francis, died rather suddenly, and the government of France fell into the hands of Mary's enemies; the Guises were now out of power. France as well as Scotland seemed to be thrown into the English scale. Elizabeth was at this time earnestly requested by King Philip to recognise the Council of Trent, which was now to meet once more. Cecil assumed that the English Bishops, having been apostolically ordained, and not merely elected like the Lutheran and Calvinist ministers, would be allowed a seat in the Council. It was impossible to admit a Papal Legate into England; but Philip was able to prevent Pope Pius IV. from launching an excommunication against the English Queen; the Spanish envoy forbade all rebellion on the part of English Romanists. A new character now came upon the scene; Mary Queen of Scots sailed from France to her own kingdom, where she charmed nearly all her subjects. She was the next heiress to the English crown; but if her rights had been once acknowledged, Elizabeth would have been speedily murdered, and the Roman yoke would have been hailed with joy by the great majority of Englishmen. Even zealous Scotch Protestants could not withstand the bait of the Southern throne, likely soon to fall to their own mistress.

The year 1562 opened with the outbreak of the great civil war in France between the Catholics and Huguenots. Elizabeth, shocked at the news of the massacres going on over the water, was thrown still more upon the Protestant

side. The imprisoned Marian Bishops were more strictly confined, and the laws against the Mass were enforced. The Huguenots, overpowered, offered Havre to Elizabeth in return for aid. In August the bargain was made; both men and money were promised. So thunderstruck were the Guises, that they offered full toleration to the Huguenot cause; but they could not be trusted. A Spanish army invaded the South of France, while on the other side nearly five hundred English fell while defending Rouen. It was hoped that all this would lead to the recovery of Calais. Meanwhile much had been done at home; the coinage, so debased in the last two evil reigns, was restored to purity, which it was never afterwards to lose; there were as yet no more risings of English peasants. Yet there was a slackness in enforcing the laws; the new Bishops were making purses for themselves out of the Church property; the marriage of the clergy was looked upon as a scandal. Hundreds of parishes were left without a parson, and the fabrics of the churches were decaying; divine service was viewed as a May game. In the North, Mass was still said under the protection of great noblemen; Bishop Jewel could not bridle the Oxford divines. Some of the English Romanists sent to the Pope asking if they might without sin be present at the new common prayers, which contained neither impiety nor false doctrine. The Inquisition at Rome pronounced that this could not be done without sin.

Early in 1563 Parliament met after a long interval; the House of Commons was largely Puritan, and therefore opposed to Mary's title to the throne. In the Lords speeches were made against laws bearing hard on the Romanists; the new religion, it was said, had been set up against the will of the clergy. All, whatever their creed, were bent upon recovering Calais; the loss of that town under the last Tudor Queen was in truth of greater benefit to the English than its possession for two hundred years had been; the aforesaid loss united all good Englishmen against the Guises at a most critical moment. The Queen steadily refused to marry or to name a successor. A Bill was passed punishing with death those who refused the



oath of allegiance to the Queen; an attempt was at once made to entrap the hated Bonner, who had been long in prison. Much money was granted to the Crown, as a war was in hand. The Puritan party were now strong in the Convocation, and made efforts to get rid of surplices and the baptismal sign of the cross; also to enact a new code of Canon law; thirty-nine out of the forty-two Edwardian Articles were restored. As to foreign affairs, the mighty Guise, the hero of France, had been shot by an assassin; all good Frenchmen were looking forward to a stable peace at home, and Havre was naturally demanded back from Elizabeth. In June the French Catholics and Huguenots united to besiege the town; in July it was yielded, after six thousand of the English garrison had died of the plague. Early in the next year peace was made between France and England, all thought of recovering Calais being practically given up for ever. Elizabeth's reign may be divided into three portions:—

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|----------------|---|---|---|--|
| I. 1558–1564   | . | . | . | Quarrel with France.                           |
| II. 1564–1585  | . | . | . | Peace, varied by wars in Scotland and Ireland. |
| III. 1585–1603 | . | . | . | War with Spain. <sup>1</sup>                   |

Early in 1564 came the news that plots were being laid at Rome to make away with Elizabeth by poison or otherwise. King Philip at a distance groaned over the steady influence in England of Cecil, a confirmed heretic. This minister was powerful enough to prevent the Queen from enforcing clerical celibacy, one of her favourite prejudices. In 1565 she tried to restore the crucifix in the parish churches, but the Bishops opposed her stoutly. She was bent on enforcing the surplice upon the Puritan clergy; Parker in vain strove to promote tolerance. One hundred of the London clergy were called before the Prelates; one-third of them, the best preachers in the City, refused obedience, and were suspended for three months. London

<sup>1</sup> The Queen-Mother of France remarked about this time, "France had the honour for horsemen, English footmen were taken for invincible." —Froude, vi. 124.



had evidently become Puritan; there was much dislike of "a mingled religion, neither wholly with nor wholly against God's word." So early as 1561 Cecil had complained of Parkhurst, the Bishop of Norwich, who was said to wink at Schismatics and Anabaptists. One Puritan at Cambridge was eager for a reformation of the University windows, and much havoc followed; King's College must have had a narrow escape. Rather later, the London Puritans could not bear fonts or brazen eagles; the latter, they said, ought to be melted, to make pots and basins for new fonts.<sup>1</sup> It was a strange medley of jarring ideas; the Anglican Church, attacked from either side, survived only through Elizabeth's rough nursing. The Scotch Protestants were much discouraged by this Queen's fancies, and their own ruler was now planning a bold stroke. In the summer she became the wife of Lord Darnley, an English subject and a Romanist, a raw lad whose bearing had already disgusted the Scotch nobles. Elizabeth was furious, but could do nothing; the new-wedded pair became of course the hope of all English Roman Catholics.

But early in 1566 it was well known that the pair could not agree; in March Rizzio, the Queen's minion, was murdered by Darnley and some of the Scotch Lords. These last Mary was able to drive into exile; she was now receiving money from the new Pope, Pius V. In the summer she gave birth to a child, the future James I.; this of course immeasurably strengthened her title to the English crown. She found her chief comfort in the ruffian Bothwell, who aimed at being the greatest man in Scotland. Meanwhile Elizabeth met her Parliament; the Lords were for Queen Mary as next successor to the throne, the Commons were for Lady Catharine Grey. Elizabeth took fire at the bare idea of marriage; she wondered at the tendency of her subjects to revolution; the Spanish envoy answered her, "What else can be expected from Protestantism?" She professed that she would take for her husband the Austrian Archduke, Philip's kinsman, with whom she had coquetted for many years. She insisted that the matter

<sup>1</sup> Strype's *Life of Parker*, i. 214, 382; ii. 332.

should not be debated in the Commons, and arrested one of the members. Good feeling was restored, and Parliament voted a large money grant. They next brought in a bill for making subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles a condition for the tenure of benefices; this Elizabeth would not tolerate. The Parliament was then dissolved, and the prospects of the Scotch Queen seemed brighter than ever; her son was baptized in December, Elizabeth sending him a gorgeous christening gift.

The year 1567 opened with the plot of Morton and Bothwell to murder Mary's husband; that hapless youth was blown up in February, and thereby all chance of Mary's succession to the English throne was for ever swept away. Even the English Roman Catholics, many of them, looked upon her as a guilty accomplice in the foul deed, especially after she had married the murderer. Elizabeth and Mary had been pitted against each other; the whole future of England had been staked on the issue of the struggle between these two; the land was saved from a baleful fate by the simple fact that great ladies cannot always manage their love affairs with discretion. Had England gone back to the Pope, it is to be feared that she would never have recovered herself, since there is no instance after 1577 of any large body of men, of their own free will, permanently withdrawing themselves from the Papal sway.

Mary was now shut up in Lochleven Castle; and Elizabeth, who might have been neutral, with much trouble saved her rival's life from the angry Scotch gaolers. The captive would rather die than give up Bothwell, and her baby son was at once crowned King of Scotland. Elizabeth found the times full of peril; it is true she defeated and slew Shane O'Neill, the greatest of the Irish chiefs, but on the other hand the French civil war was again beginning to rage after a truce of four years, and Alva had brought the best army in Europe to put down the Protestants of the Netherlands. Elizabeth once more feigned for a short time readiness to marry the Austrian Archduke; but her worthless favourite Leicester took up the cry of religion, and strove to stir up Protestant feeling in London. Laws

against the Romanists were once more strictly enforced. A Spanish invasion was dreaded; the use of the arquebuse was prescribed for town-dwellers, that of the long bow for peasants. But Philip had no thought of invading England, though English pirates on the one hand, and the Spanish Inquisition on the other, had made peace difficult. Hawkins, with whom Elizabeth went shares, had already seized African blacks, and had sold them to the Spanish colonists in America, against Philip's will.

In the spring of 1568 Mary escaped from Lochleven, lost a battle, and then sought refuge in England. Among her other wiles she attended Anglican worship when confined in Bolton Castle. This year was one of fierce war on the Continent, and Elizabeth allowed the rebels of France and Flanders to make use of her harbours, while her subjects joined them in privateering. She herself in the winter seized on certain treasure ships of King Philip's, an outrage which provoked similar reprisals on the part of Alva.

At the beginning of 1569 Cecil drew up a dismal report as to the state of religion in England; he wished his mistress to throw herself boldly into the cause of Coligny, Orange, and Murray; but this as yet she would not do, and the English nobles shuddered at revolution abroad. They were in the summer themselves ready to rebel; the Duke of Norfolk, a most poor creature, was proposed as Mary's fourth husband. He utterly failed his Northern friends, who broke out late in the year, under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. The Pope became once more a rallying point. They marched into Durham, overthrew the Communion board, tore up the Bible and Prayer-Book, and sang the Mass once more. These Northern rebels numbered about ten thousand, who advanced to a point south of York, but could not carry off Queen Mary, as their intention was. Happily Alva, the wariest of men, did not think fit to interfere in such a loose, heedless movement, though at this time there were not ten gentlemen in all Yorkshire who approved Elizabeth's change of religion. Soon the two Earls were flying to Scotland, the one to end on the block, the other to die in exile. This was the last

of the great aristocratic risings which had been known in England for five hundred years.

The year 1570 opened with the murder of Murray, Elizabeth's best friend in Scotland. She made a barbarous use of her victory in the North, sparing the gentry, but stringing up more than six hundred of the misguided peasants, who could not pay for their lives. She must have been thoroughly alarmed by the late rising, as this is the one black spot of wanton cruelty that rests upon her memory. She now drew up an address to her subjects, sending a printed copy of it to every parish in England; she proudly affirmed that her judges had given few bloody judgments, and that there had been no civil wars here like those in neighbouring lands; she had been a thrifty guardian of the public treasure. She upheld the Creeds, and would have no inquisition into the private opinions of her subjects, though their outward conversation must be conformable to law. She had no objection to a General Council, if free. She had barely put forth this statement when Pope Pius V., whom King Philip could no longer restrain, issued his Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth, releasing her subjects from their allegiance. These Deposing Bulls had been of some use to mankind for the 200 years after the wars of Pope Gregory VII. But the time for Papal thunders had long gone by in the days when Bacon and Galileo were already born. This particular Bull was one of the worst mistakes ever made by the Vatican, as most men now acknowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this time the English enemies of the Reformation had attended their parish churches, though eager to have Mass when they could in private houses; there had hitherto been few recusants.<sup>2</sup> Persons, the Jesuit, particularly says

<sup>1</sup> Lingard evidently disapproves of it; he, when discussing 1569, says that it was regarded by all the natives as an imprudent and cruel expedient.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Cardinal Allen*, edited by the Fathers of the London Oratory, 56. *Non solum homines laici, corde rectè credentes, . . . cærimonias schismaticas adirent et nonnunquam etiam communicarent, sed etiam sacerdotes multi et sacrum secretè facerent, et foris officia ac cœnam hæreticam, eodem sæpe die (immane scelus) . . . celebrarent.* Allen is a good witness, as he travelled much up and down England. In the next page he says that later his brethren were required to be present only once or twice at the heretical sermon or singing of psalms.



that the elder priests of Queen Mary's days opposed themselves to the stricter opinions of men like Allen; there was evidently a sharp-cut division of opinion. By the time that the first twelve Elizabethan Bishops had been consecrated, only six of the Marian Prelates survived; one lived on to 1584. These last never attempted to continue the succession; so a new Romanist Episcopate had to be introduced in the next Century. The man who did most to advance the Pope's sway in England was Allen of Lancashire, who established a seminary for English priests at Douai in 1568; this was afterwards moved to Rheims. The pupils soon began to creep into England, but were let alone by the Government for nearly ten years. Mayne was the first of them who suffered in 1577, and about one hundred and twenty went to the gallows and quartering block during the rest of Elizabeth's reign, 1588 being a peculiarly bloody year. They might all have saved themselves by abjuring the Pope's deposing power, following the example of France, but they clung to this doctrine as fast as to the Trinity or the Incarnation. Their mission was to found a new branch of the Church in this island with a new English clergy.

The Pope's Bull was published in London by a Romanist, who soon atoned for his folly on the gibbet. A contest was now going on in Elizabeth's Council; the low-born Cecil, with a few strong Protestants, stood on one side; on the other was Fitzalan, Lord Arundel, with his Earldom of three hundred years, at the head of the English nobility, eager to go back to the Pope. Elizabeth, who had always a weakness for high birth, sneered at Cecil and "his brothers in Christ." But about this time one of these, the stubborn Coligny, was able to dictate a peace to the French King, the chief result of which was that France and England came into close alliance for the next two years. The English Romanists, on the other hand, made overtures to Alva, promising to rise, but he had taken their measure and would not stir. After the famous Bull there seems to have been a reaction, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some of the Marian priests actually tried to set up again the iniquitous old spiritual Courts, commuting penances for



money, compounding for sins, and grinding the poor. In some towns the Elizabethan clergy and laity worked well together, combining the Prayer-Book with Calvin's Catechism. The famous Puritan Cartwright, the great enemy of the surplice, was now driven from Cambridge by Whitgift.<sup>1</sup> The year ended with serious proposals for the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou, a youth seventeen years younger than herself. So certain did the new match appear, that early in 1571 Alva was doing his best, in spite of much provocation, to keep the peace with England. Pope Pius V. complained that his famous Bull had been suppressed in France, and never published in Spain or Flanders; the truth was that the time for these documents had gone for ever. His agent Ridolfi was busily at work in London; the Duke of Norfolk was persuaded to countenance a Spanish plot for an armed revolution, and forty noblemen, two-thirds of the lay Peerage, were reckoned upon as accomplices. Our English nobility stood at its very best in the Thirteenth century, at its very worst in the Sixteenth, as the list of traitorous names still preserved at Simancas bears witness. Elizabeth summoned a new Parliament in April; Cecil was now transferred to the House of Peers as Lord Burghley. The Puritans had the majority in the Commons, and complained of the favour shown to Papists; moreover, the Anglican Bishops, it was said, sold licenses to disobey the law. Cartwright was soon to call in question not merely copes and surplices, but the whole platform of Church government. Parliament now imposed the Thirty-nine Articles upon the clergy, and checked the profligate waste of Church property. The publication of Papal Bulls in England was made high treason. A subsidy was voted without opposition, and then Parliament was dismissed with a lecture from the Queen. Meanwhile the rack in the Tower, an engine unsanctioned by the Common law, was forcing revelations from the inferior tools of the lordly plotters. Pope Pius V. was sure that the conspiracy would succeed; "God will manage it," was his answer to all objectors. The Cabinet

<sup>1</sup> Oxford had taken the lead in England down to 1500; but almost all our Reformers came from Cambridge.

at Madrid listened to Ridolfi and discussed the murder of Elizabeth ; Alva was at last ordered to prepare to invade England. About this time occurred the great victory of Lepanto, which marks the highest pinnacle of Spain's greatness ; she had been always climbing for the last ninety years without any very serious check, and as yet was unfretted by any grievous ulcer. Meanwhile more revelations were extorted by the English rack, and the Duke of Norfolk was sent to the Tower ; other noble traitors were carefully watched. The Scotch Bishop who acted for Queen Mary made a full confession, and Alva threw up the game. For Anjou his younger brother Alençon was now substituted as Elizabeth's future husband.

The year 1572 opened with Norfolk's trial before his peers, but Elizabeth was most unwilling to execute him, delaying his death for months. A treaty was made between France and England, much to the wrath of the Pope. Two great events were to make this year for ever remarkable ; the first of these was the expulsion of the Dutch corsair De la Marek from England ; he sailed home, seized Brill, and set the whole of the Netherlands in a flame. A new European State was now founded, and Elizabeth was to play fast and loose with it, as she had done for the last twelve years with Scotland and France. Never was Monarch's throne so well buttressed from outside ; her first allies were Murray, Coligny, and William of Orange ; these were in time succeeded by Morton, Henry IV., and Maurice of Orange. Parliament met again in the spring, and endeavoured to attaint Queen Mary, whose crimes had been published to the world rather earlier in a Latin treatise. The Bishops in a body waited on Elizabeth to petition for the attainder, but to this she would not consent. Hundreds of English volunteers went across to fight against Alva, and the French King sent thousands of his old Huguenot enemies to bear arms in the same cause. But Elizabeth could not keep steady to one line of policy ; she was mistrusted by the French Court, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was the result. The English Bishops were eager for reprisals on traitors at home. Alva, who had thought himself on the

brink of ruin, seized the happy chance and made peace with Elizabeth, much to the disgust of her rebels, the Romanist refugees.

In the beginning of 1573 she did what ought to have been done long before; she sent to Scotland an army, which took Edinburgh Castle and wiped out for the time Queen Mary's faction in the North. Alva was now recalled, but his policy so far prevailed that in 1574 King Philip broke up the seminary of English Romanists at Douai, and these had to seek a new home at Rheims under the Guises. This was a great triumph for the English Government. The refugees in vain besought Pope Gregory XIII. to denounce any Catholic Prince who should make a treaty with Elizabeth. In 1575 she proved her leaning to Spain and orthodoxy by burning two Anabaptists, in spite of the remonstrances of Foxe the Martyrologist. King Philip received a heretic as English envoy at Madrid, where Alva pleaded the cause of tolerance against the Inquisition, and the puzzle-headed Monarch seemed to consent to some relaxation of the usual Spanish system. Yet in the next year, 1576, an English crew were thrown into a dungeon at Seville simply because they were heretics. Parliament met again and listened to a speech from a patriot against monopolies, a means whereby thousands of men were robbed to enrich three or four Courtiers; he was Star-chambered and sent to the Tower for a month. Late in the year the whole of the Netherlands, both Protestant and Catholic, after having seen Antwerp cruelly sacked by Spanish mutineers, were driven into a treaty with each other, and into a suspension of all religious persecution.

The year 1577 came, the high-water mark of Protestantism in Europe. It cannot be said that the Anglican Church had by this time done much for the great cause; it understood not the zeal of either Papists or Puritans. The Prelates were mostly mere jobbers whom Elizabeth herself could not keep in the right way. Archbishop Parker had piled up great wealth by granting dispensations and by selling the cure of souls to mere children. Yet this is the man to whom we owe much, since he was the first promoter

of the study of the Old English spoken by Bede and Alfred.<sup>1</sup> His iniquities were recorded by his successor Grindal, a worthy man, who incurred Elizabeth's anger by his zeal in shielding the Puritans. She thought three or four preachers enough for one county; his views of religion were widely different. In the August of this year stern measures were taken with the Romanists, and leading recusants were fined. It seemed likely that Elizabeth would now openly assail Spain; she allowed Drake to sail on his great plundering foray which took him round the world.

In the next year, 1578, a few thousand English won a battle for the Netherland revoltors, a success in the open field which was something altogether new. The Prince of Parma now rose to command; he and the younger Guise were to be terrible enemies to Elizabeth. One advantage she had; her land had become a city of refuge to hard-working foreigners; it was enjoying peace and prosperity, and the struggles between rich and poor were for the time over. She was now coquetting with the wretched Alençon, and in 1579 she took vengeance on the Puritan Stubbs for denouncing the contemplated marriage. The real danger came from the Roman side; men like Allen and Persons would not wait for the diplomatic manoeuvres of France and Spain; true religion was likely to die out in the British isles if not speedily succoured from abroad. It was resolved to begin with Ireland; thither Pope Gregory XIII. sent eight hundred men, mostly Italians, who came to an evil end at Smerwick. Sanders, the Pope's Legate, stirred up Munster to rise; and the revoltors were not put down for four years, while the land was pitilessly ravaged by sword and famine. Scotland was assailed by a cousin of King James's, a pretended Protestant, who was able to bring about the execution of Morton, the great Northern champion of the Reformation. But England was to be the scene of a struggle peculiar to itself. The Pope told some young English Jesuits that any one who would take Jezebel's life was worthy of being canonised; the only thing was to avoid scandal in the attempt. The first sufferer for the

<sup>1</sup> Dean Hook gives a very inadequate notion of Parker.



Papal religion was in 1577, when Mayne, a Seminary priest, was hung, and a gentleman who had harboured him was imprisoned for life.<sup>1</sup> For nearly twenty years before this the Government had abstained from religious bloodshed; this tolerance was now at an end. No longer was the Pope's creed to be winked at by the authorities in Church and State. About 1580 scores of young Jesuits and priests, trained under Allen in the foreign seminaries, swarmed into England disguised as laymen, preaching the tenets of their religion. Two of the foremost of these men were Campian and Persons, sent from Rome with instructions to the Pope's English children, who were to profess themselves loyal to Elizabeth until circumstances allowed them to execute the Deposing Bull. The statutes against the Mass were now put in force, and the Queen published an appeal to her subjects. Some of the younger priests were seized and racked in the Tower if they refused to give up the names of their entertainers. The threat was addressed to them, "You shall be made a foot longer than God made you." The country folk trained in the old religion now generally refused, for the first time, to attend the Anglican service.

The Parliament met early in 1581, and passed a Treason Act, punishing the celebration of the Mass, and laying a fine on all who would not come to the established Church. We now find a distinction made between the terms "Protestant" and "Puritan," neither of them of very long standing in England. The Jesuits, who made this distinction, declared that no Catholic could frequent the heretical service; they begged for an English Cardinal, who might keep their creed from dying out in their land. Campian was seized, tortured, and hanged. Southern Europe rang with the report of English cruelties to harmless priests. Men who could see nothing wrong in the dealings of the Inquisition reviled Elizabeth and her ministers for the late barbarities. The luckless English Romanists had to choose between disloyalty and heresy, thanks to the Bull of 1570. The new Acts of Parliament dried up the

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, *Constitutional History*.



supplies that went to Rheims to train new priests. Burghley, moreover, put forth an Apology in the face of the world; not a priest, he said, had been put to death who would abjure the Pope's Deposing power. Allen answered that the burnings under Mary were agreeable to law, but that the punishment of the Jesuits was sheer murder; the Papal supremacy was a point of conscience. The year ended with Elizabeth's steady refusal to restore the Spanish plunder taken by Drake, and with Philip's conquest of Portugal.

In 1582 the Scotch Lowlanders seized the person of their boy King and drove out his Romanist misleaders. In 1583 plots against Elizabeth's life were brought to light; the rack revealed the secrets of Philip, Guise, and the aged Pope. Thousands of native Romanists were placed under arrest; it was believed that there were now five hundred Jesuits and Seminary priests in England; batches of them were from time to time executed. Even in the councils of the Romanist plotters the everlasting variance between France and Spain, Elizabeth's salvation, is always cropping up.

Early in 1584 Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, who had long been conspiring against Elizabeth, was sent out of England. In this year William the Silent was murdered, and the Queen was therefore not long afterwards driven in her own despite to send English troops to the aid of the Netherlands, now almost at their last gasp. Spain and England were at length to be fairly pitted against each other, after twenty-five years of shifty diplomacy. England had made good use of her days of peace; she was able to export corn and to open new markets. She trafficked with Turkey, and sent her woollens by Archangel down the Volga so far as Persia. The weak point was the Anglican Church, which was as ill governed as ever. Yet Elizabeth, though presiding over this very lukewarm body, gave a fitful support to the fiery Calvinists of Scotland, France, and Holland, the men who had staked their all upon the Reformation. Thanks to the bold Britomart and her ministers, London seemed to be the counterpart to both Rome and Madrid. But any assassin might rob England

of her tutelary genius. An Association was therefore formed, which virtually suspended all law and organised the Queen's subjects into a vast vigilance committee. Any attempt at regicide was to be punished at once, and the Queen of Scots was all but named. A fresh Parliament met late in the year, and the new Association bond was keenly debated; all Jesuits and Seminary priests were ordered to leave the realm within forty days, on pain of death. Allen was, in spite of all this, in high spirits. "We have not lost thirty lives of our men," he writes in Latin, "in these years of persecution. We have gained over a hundred thousand souls." His friend Persons writes, "The number of priests labouring in that vineyard (England) has grown to almost three hundred. We have nearly two hundred in our Seminary of Rheims, and as many living outside in poverty."<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1585 four hundred Parliament men on their knees repeated after Hatton a prayer for the Queen's preservation. But one of their number, Parry, was sent to the gallows, after having made a full confession of his design to murder the Queen; he had been fortified by a dispensation from the Pope and by a letter from the Cardinal of Comc, the Papal Minister. Walsingham, by his spies, knew much of what went forward at the Vatican and the Escorial. This year saw the rise of the League in France, a new outburst of fanaticism which the Pope himself could not always keep within bounds; Guise seemed to be laying his country at Philip's feet; if this policy were thoroughly carried out, the odds against Elizabeth would be fearful. Sixtus V., the new Pope, thought that there was now a chance of her conversion. But England was every year becoming more loyal to her Sovereign. A writer of this time thus expresses himself, "The people of this realm have been always found to be a most valiant nation. To them only is given by God's special gifts the use of the bow; also they have been always, and at this present be, a free people such as in few or no

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Cardinal Allen*, edited by the Fathers of the London Oratory, 236, 237.

other realms ye shall find the like ; by the which freedom without all doubt is maintained the great and valiant courage of the said people and nation. The lack thereof must needs breed a heartless and wretched people, and what may follow of such a thing all wise men do see it.”<sup>1</sup> Here we find little evidence of the gloomy despotism whereby, according to some writers, England was weighed down all through the Tudor times. This valour was soon to make new outlets for itself. In May Philip suddenly seized all the English ships then in his harbours. His troops mastered and ruined the great city of Antwerp, the only possible rival to London at this particular time. Elizabeth refused the offer of sovereignty made to her by the Netherlands, but she sent troops thither, and let loose Drake once more upon Spain and the West Indies. The fall of Antwerp sent one hundred of skilful traders to the London Exchange, just as the persecuted Flemings had many years earlier taught England a variety of handicrafts ; Elizabeth had the wisdom to grant freedom of worship to the strangers.

The year 1586 opened with a secret debate between Sixtus V. and the Spanish ambassador as to the chances of an invasion of England ; the Pope hoped now to win back the huge tribute paid of old by that country to the Holy See. But the thrifty man was much discomposed on being told he must contribute handsomely to the future Armada. The Jesuits, unlike the Pope, were devoted heart and soul to King Philip, and were now scheming anew ; for this year the Babington plot to murder Elizabeth was formed and approved by Queen Mary ; it was unravelled, and her trial and sentence at Fotheringay were the upshot. The two Houses of Parliament once more petitioned for her death, declaring that otherwise the Commonwealth would be destroyed, and the rights of the Crown would be sold to an Italian priest. France and Scotland in vain interposed.

Early in 1587 Queen Mary was executed ; the one Catholic life that had stood between Philip and the succession to the English throne was thus removed.<sup>2</sup> Allen and

<sup>1</sup> Froude, xii. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Of course he would not acknowledge her Protestant son as a rival.

Persons, the heads of the English Romanists, advised that nothing should be said about the succession until England had been fairly conquered by the Spaniards. Allen's political morality (he was soon to be made a Cardinal) may be measured by his published defence of two traitorous Englishmen, in Elizabeth's pay, who had handed over certain Dutch towns to the enemy; she was always far too partial to her Romanist courtiers and soldiers. A very different warrior, Drake, was soon at work, burning Spanish ships in Philip's own harbours, whereby the preparations for the Armada were somewhat delayed. In France, Henry of Navarre had won the first of his victories over the League.

The great year 1588, the year of our English Salamis, at last came, and the business of the Armada was earnestly pressed forward. The English people laid aside all questions of creed in the presence of the mighty onslaught; feeble beings like Howard, Earl of Arundel, locked up in the Tower, might be Catholics first and Englishmen afterwards, but this was happily an exception among laymen. The weakest point was the thriftiness of Elizabeth, who was always ready to let her soldiers and sailors starve for want of much-needed supplies. Cardinal Allen published a pastoral full of libels against the Queen, and the Armada sailed in the summer. What followed is well known: the fight at Calais, the checkmate given to Parma, the storms in the North, the massacres on the Irish coast. Elizabeth had been sowing for thirty years, and now reaped a rare harvest. Pope Sixtus was rather pleased than otherwise at the defeat of the man who aspired to be master of all Europe, and whose sway was a blight to Italy. England rose high in the world's esteem; she has not often had a trustier band of servants at one time than Burghley, Walsingham, Drake, Howard, Hawkins, and Norris; other years, most bountiful to her in well-tried soldiers and statesmen, may be seen in 1657, 1706, 1759, 1804, and 1859.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The year 1675 was an equally rich year to France as regards the number of great men who had been born within her bounds. Germany's richest year in this respect was 1871.

These were all rich years, but 1588 must stand at the head of the roll. Henceforth England's walk was to be on the deep.

The ruin of the Armada stamped its mark upon all future generations of Englishmen; the Almighty had given His doom, and this had not been on the side of the Inquisition and the St. Bartholomew. Thousands of sober-minded men of our country, who had hitherto shown some hankering after the rites of the old Church, even though not believers in the Bull of Pius V., must have by degrees acquiesced in the Elizabethan Middle Way, between Rome and Geneva. The free course of the Scriptures through the land must have been a powerful agent in the great revolution. Allen especially says that the heretical preachers, in their power of handling the English tongue, had a great advantage over the orthodox, and did much harm to the simple folk. Allen's students, having been educated abroad, could not easily quote the Bible except in Latin. He complained that there was as yet no sound English version. The enemy had at their finger ends all the texts that seemed to make for heresy. He goes on: "Perhaps it would have been more desirable that the Scriptures had never been translated into barbarous tongues."<sup>1</sup> Allen was evidently a man of great insight as to the true interests of Rome. But even he could not put heart into his Seminary priests after the great blow of 1588. One of them writes to Mendoza: "I do find and know that many good and wise men, which of long time have securely continued in most earnest devotion to the Pope's authority, begin now to stagger in their minds, and to conceive that this (Papal) way of reformation is not allowable in the sight of God."<sup>2</sup>

Among the recusants the Secular clergy were drifting apart from the Jesuits, now headed by Persons. The former stood for the Scotch succession, the latter for King Philip's interests. Persons in 1596 printed a pamphlet to guide the course of the Papal party should they succeed.

<sup>1</sup> *First and Second Diaries of the English College*, edited by Fathers of the London Oratory, xl., xli.

<sup>2</sup> *Law, Jesuits and Seculars*, xviii.



The coming Reformation should not be huddled up as in Queen Mary's time by a general absolution, whereby fallen priests were restored to the altar after sending away their concubines. Laymen were not now to hope to keep possession of the Abbey lands; the former Papal toleration of this had been only upon constraint and fear of further inconveniences. Some good and sound manner of Inquisition must be established; perhaps this had better not be named in so new and green a state of religion. It is not easy to say whether the future tribunal should be that of Spain, "whose rigour is disliked by some," or that used in parts of Italy, "whose coldness is reprehended by more," or that of Rome itself, which takes a middle course, but it is clear to Persons that the diligent and exact manner of proceeding in Spain is absolutely necessary.<sup>1</sup>

What England, as yet free from any Inquisition, was like in 1596 may be gathered from Gradenigo, who was sent thither by Venice in that year; the state of the land stands in glaring contrast to what it had been fifty years earlier. The envoy was first struck by the precautions taken against spies and traitors, then by the beacons on the tops of the hills; any enemy landing would be at once faced by twenty thousand men. The country was the loveliest that could be imagined, opulent, fat, and abounding with all things; not a beggar was to be seen. The civil wars in France and Holland had so increased England's wealth that London might fairly be called a little world in itself; a good meal could there be procured for one-sixth of its cost in France. The Queen's income was about two millions (of crowns?); she was rich because her subjects were. All the way down the Thames from London to the sea nothing was to be seen but ships and seamen. The envoy saw Queen Elizabeth touch for the King's evil; she was served by the highest officials on their knees; she called herself, speaking to her guest, the ugliest thing in her kingdom; she twitted the Venetians with their awe of "that old fellow" (Pope Clement VIII.). No envoy of theirs, owing to the scruples of the Papacy, had been allowed to reside at London for

<sup>1</sup> Law, *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. xxvi.

many years. The English seamen will attack at a disadvantage to themselves; they fight to the death; they agree, before sailing, to fire the ship rather than surrender, so resolute is this race in battle.<sup>1</sup> The breach with Rome seems to have done little harm in a temporal sense.

Slow had been the process of change; seldom has the power of a shrewd minority over a sluggish majority been more clearly illustrated. Great was the difference between the German and the English Reformations; in the former the whole country, at least nine-tenths of it, flung itself into the new movement within a very few years; in the latter the course of change was most laggard, and the spur was much needed. Since England became one about 950, most of her happy revolutions have been accomplished by the will of the people; but there have been three marked exceptions to the rule; these were—First, the savage Danish incursions, which in the end so much increased and improved our population; secondly, the Norman conquest, which has welded us into closer union, and spared us so many civil wars; thirdly, the wonderful Tudor change that turned by degrees the Latin Mass into the English Communion, in despite of the will of nine-tenths of the nation and nearly all the old aristocracy. The whole business from first to last is one of the marvels of history. What a difference must have been remarked by an Englishman who could remember the stately abbeys standing in all their glory, and who compared the days of his youth with those of his old age, when God let it be seen in 1588 that He would never forsake His own Englishmen! About that time Dr. Bound's famous book on the Sabbath, published in 1595, and in vain repressed by the Government, gave a new moral code to both England and Scotland.

Our decision in favour of Protestantism told mightily upon our neighbours. Scotland was soon able to put down her Northern malcontents, such as the Gordons. Holland

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers* relating to England, existing in the Archives of Venice, edited by H. Brown, ix. 236. This volume explains the alliance between England and Turkey, the atrocious piracies of our countrymen, and the damage done to the Hanse towns by the ability of the English to carry on their own commerce, which was something new.

was in the end to achieve her freedom from the Spanish yoke. France, whatever might be the Pope's will, was to set one of the greatest of her Kings upon her throne and to still the ravings of the League. In helping him England had achieved something far beyond the tinsel glories of Cressy and Agincourt. All the countries I have named owed much to Elizabeth's help, though it must be allowed that she often wavered in the struggle with the Southern giant. England on her side must heartily acknowledge her debt to the Calvinists of Edinburgh, of Leyden, and of Rochelle. The highest of Anglicans must allow that but for foreign Calvinism his country would never have won strength enough to work out her own salvation. A glance into past history should make us all most tolerant of foreign forms of Protestantism. Ever since the Saxon Maurice was too early stricken down in the field, Calvinism was the one force in Europe for the next fourscore years that could make head against the Jesuits and the Inquisition.

Elizabeth was never again to enjoy peace with Spain. In the year after the Armada Drake and Norris made a fruitless attempt upon Lisbon; later, English troops did their part at the siege of Rouen and on the coasts of Brittany. In 1596 England and Holland made a joint expedition, the upshot of which was the taking of wealthy Cadiz; here the clemency of the conquerors was happily as conspicuous as their valour. The great Philip died bankrupt in 1598, while the Elizabethan politicians and warriors dropped one by one; but a new soldier-statesman, Mountjoy, arose to drive the Spaniards from Ireland and to quell Tyrone's revolt. A fresh generation of Englishmen had sprung up, a brilliant brood of men, widely different from those who had talked with Wolsey and More. The boldest of the knights of the Bearnese, the sage Bellarmine and the tuneful Tasso, would have acknowledged that they had exalted rivals in Raleigh, Sidney, Andrewes, and Spenser; men who had as children listened to the Latin Mass and had grown up under Elizabeth's sway—the first-fruits, as it were, of the new system. Worthy representatives of what the best Protestant training could do

were to be seen later in Hutchinson and Evelyn. The sword and the pen were to win laurels at one and the same time. Was there ever such a brood of Englishmen as those born within sixty years of 1550? The end of the great Queen's reign was nobly illustrated by Spenser, Shakespeare, Hooker, and Bacon; English poetry was never again to see so dismal a gap as had lasted for about two hundred years from the days of Chaucer down to the Elizabethan blaze of glory.

Still there were disquieting tokens as regarded the future. The Queen found that many of her subjects were not so charmed with Hooker's philosophic reasoning as she was herself. A long train of Puritan preachers succeeded to the exiled doctors who had learnt their theology abroad at Zurich and Geneva. Men bit their thumbs at the Romish ceremonies still maintained in the National Church, and Cambridge students dropped the surplice altogether. Cartwright stood up for the Presbyterian system; his enemy Whitgift, when raised to the see of Canterbury, proved a harsh persecutor of men who dissented from the Prayer-Book. In 1583 the High Commission Court began its sittings, in which the Bishops had great influence; many punishments and deprivations followed, and Burghley in vain remonstrated. Soon Martin Marprelate began to flood the land with tracts from his secret press; Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry were hanged for attacking the Church; the Bishops and Convocation were sometimes able to thwart the House of Commons. The Brownists, springing up in the Eastern counties, were driven over to Holland, and two of their preachers were hanged. The spacious times of great Elizabeth still left something to be desired.

Thanks to Philip's Flemish persecutions, England had already begun to be a manufacturing country. Trade had flourished within the last half century; England, it may be said, had discovered Russia. Not only the Russian but the Turkish Company had been set on foot; and the East India Company was now entering on its life of two centuries and a half, establishing itself at Surat. Here was something better than the piracy which the Elizabethans had prac-



tised upon their own allies as well as on the Spaniards. Taxes had been low in the peaceful earlier years of Elizabeth; but her later wars against Spain forced her to trespass on the subject's purse. In 1601 the House of Commons debated the question of monopolies for four days with great heat. Elizabeth found that she had gone too far, and at once revoked all oppressive grants. Her wisdom in dealing with her subjects unhappily did not descend to her two next successors. Her ministers had to take part in the debates of Parliament, and good proof may be found that the despotism of the Tudors in these crucial years has been rather exaggerated. The finger of scorn has often been pointed against the Tudor system by many disciples of the Pope, both at home and abroad. His martyrs under Elizabeth seem to have numbered about two hundred. Yet he never offered to save the stout-hearted men, his champions, by any concessions with respect to his Deposing power; this strange prerogative was to be silently dropped about 1670. The martyrs in Japan died for truths that have been held by all Christians since the days of the Apostles; the martyrs in England died for a theory unknown to Scripture, and never revealed to the Popes of the first seven centuries of Christianity, a theory that neither Archbishop Langton nor Sir Thomas More could have borne with. Pity it is that so much good English blood should have been wasted on an idle dream.<sup>1</sup> Now and then priests set England before Rome. One of them, when ordered by Persons to embark on a Spanish fleet which was about to assail England, made answer, "Father, if you will send me into England with the Bible in one hand and the Missal in the other, I will shed my blood willingly for the Catholic faith; but I will not ascend an enemy's fleet armed against my beloved country." Persons at once expelled the priest from the college without his viaticum. Even Cardinal

<sup>1</sup> The English martyrs were beatified by Pope Leo XIII. in 1886. Four names were then added to the catalogue given by Dr. Challoner in the Eighteenth century, who thought that these four had not suffered purely for religion. Among them was Felton, who first published the Bull of Pius V., and a chaplain of the two Northern Earls, the rebels of 1569. See *Law, Jesuits and Seculars*, vii.



Borghese, on another occasion, avowed that Persons had a diabolic spirit.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Allen, shortly before his death, had misgivings as to the policy of the Jesuits, such as Persons.

King James I. came to the English crown in 1603, and proved a glaring contrast to his mighty kinswoman. He was soon threatening, at the Hampton Court Conference, to harry the Puritans out of the land or else hang them. Under him, in 1612, the last heretics were burnt in England. James had a narrow escape from the Gunpowder Plot; he made peace with Spain, much to the disgust of his subjects. Then, surrounded by servile Judges and Bishops, he entered upon a long course of misrule. Yet it was in this wretched time, when Raleigh and Overbury were done to death, that the men were bred who played so lofty a part, alike in the prison, in the field, and in the council, for the thirty years before Naseby fight. Few, it is true, have had before their eyes such records of the past whereby to shape a consistent course for the present and future; the Seventeenth century could always take example from the Thirteenth, and Sir Robert Cotton's library was a sound school of politics. One of the first symptoms of the revived power of the Commons was the impeachment of Sir Giles Mompesson, the first who had been subjected to this process for 170 years, the time when our freedom seemed more or less in abeyance. Old Plantagenet bulwarks of good government were coming once more to light under the Stuarts. James and his Court were for some time taken up with the absurd project of the Spanish marriage; the King had long been under the dominion of the wily Gondomar.<sup>2</sup> The English mourned that they were not allowed to strike in when the Palatine's cause was at stake; happy it was that no English army was trained for war and kept on foot at this time, since in that case the Crown would easily have put down the Parlia-

<sup>1</sup> Law, *Jesuits and Seculars*, xcix., cxi.

<sup>2</sup> What was thought of Gondomar by the English may be best seen in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*; several of the pieces there printed bear on the Ambassador.

ment in 1642. What was Bohemia's ruin was England's salvation.

As to English discontent, Howell, who had travelled much abroad a little earlier, proposes foreign tours as a remedy for it. "When one hath seen the tally and taillage of France, the Milstone of Spain, the Assise of Holland, the Gabels of Italy, where one cannot bring an egg or root to the market but the Prince's part lies therein; when he hath felt the excess of heat, the poverty of soil in many places, the homeliness of lodging, the coarse clothing of the best sort of peasants, their wooden shoes and straw hats, their canvas breeches and buckram petticoats, their meagre fare, feeding commonly upon grass, herbs, and roots, and drinking water, near the condition of brute animals. . . . When he feels how in some climes the heaven is as brass, in others as a dropping sponge, in others as a great bellows, how the earth in many places is ever and anon sick of a fit of the palsy. When he sees the same sun that gently warms his countrymen half parboil and tan other people, as in Calabria and Spain. . . . When he hath observed how their best sort of women after forty are presently superannuated and look like Caracks that have passed the Line in three voyages to the Indies. At his return home he will bless God and love England better ever after, for the equality of the temper in the clime, . . . for the free condition of the subject, and equal participation of the wealth of the land, for the security of travel, for the plenty of all sorts of firm food, . . . for the longevity, well-favouredness, and innated honesty of the people, and above all for the moderation and decency in celebrating the true service of God." Some English tourists, instead of remarking all this, travelled much and saw little, like Jonah in the whale's belly; they returned as wise as they went, because their souls were so ill-lodged in stupid bodies. An ingenious traveller will borrow from the Italian his reservedness, from the Frenchman his horsemanship, from the Spaniard his sobriety, from the German his continency, from the Netherlander his industry. But the traveller's heart must still remain English.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Howell's *Foreign Travel*, 188, 211.

About 1630 Mun wrote his famous treatise upon trade, the foundation of our mercantile system. He enlarges upon England's strength and riches, her many harbours, her wools, iron, lead, tin, and corn, her exports of 2,200,000 pounds sterling every year. The great plenty we enjoy makes us a people vicious, excessive, wasteful, and careless of the wealth we lose, such as the fishing in His Majesty's seas. "In the meantime (through lewd idleness) great multitudes of our people cheat, roar, rob, hang, beg, cant, pine, and perish. . . . Whilst we leave our wonted studies, of late years besotting ourselves with pipe and pot in a beastly manner, sucking smoak and drinking healths, until death stares many in the face, the Dutch have well neer left this swinish vice and taken up our wonted valour. . . . The general leprosie of our piping, potting, feasting, fashions, and mis-spending of our time, hath made us poor in our treasure and contemned by our enemies." We should not trust so wholly to the making of cloth, though it is the greatest wealth and best employment of the poor of this Kingdom; we should give ourselves more to tillage and fishing.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch brag that they are England's forts and outworks, when in truth we are the fountain of their happiness, both for war and peace. We send them soldiers for their garrisons, and so set the Dutch free to conquer in the Indies and to traffic in England. They employ themselves in our towns, manufacturing silk and wools, taking care never to teach their arts to our natives. They are like the Jews in Turkey; they are among us, yet not of us. England and Holland show the difference between natural and artificial wealth. "They take the bread out of our mouths, which we shall never prevent by plucking the pot from their nose, as of late years too many of us do practise, to the great hurt and dishonour of this famous nation." Mun, who had lived long as a trader in peaceful Italy, must have hated English piracy.

The reign of Charles I. is a melancholy record; he contrived to make war upon both France and Spain at the same time, to break the promises made when the Petition

<sup>1</sup> Mun's *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, 97-100, 108-112.

of Right was granted, and to keep England without a Parliament for eleven years. The Anglican Church was much altered since Whitgift's day; she had now become Arminian in doctrine, besides being a flatterer of tyranny. The Anglicanism of Hooker had been exchanged for something rather different. Archbishop Laud's method of procedure is well known; his teasing pin-tricks could never attain to the practical effects wrought by the Spanish Inquisition. He had, however, a broader mind than most of his brethren, as was shown by his patronage of Hales and Chillingworth; he also sent Dury into Germany to do his best to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, a serious blow aimed at Rome.<sup>1</sup> The statesman to whom Strafford poured out his thoughts must have been something more than a superstitious bigot. About this time we see the three great schools of the Anglican Church represented by Laud, Hall, and Chillingworth, leaning on Tradition, Scripture, and Reason.

But all schools of religion are bootless unless they be based upon morality or something still higher. Baxter gives a deplorable account of the morals of his native Salop about 1640. We hear of parsons who never preached, yet held more than one living, getting common threshers and tailors to read the lessons. Readers might be men of immoral life, and forged orders might lead to a pulpit. The mass of the people could not read, but repeated the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and sometimes the Hail Mary, before going to bed; some were drunkards, most were swearers. There was about one family in six that frequented sermons, and these were called Puritans, though they had no scruples about conformity. This nickname was applied to Baxter's father, who turned away from the Maypole on Sunday afternoons, where all the town danced till dark. The redeeming point about Salop was, that it seems to have had good grammar schools.

Meanwhile Strafford lorded it in Ireland; Prynne stood

<sup>1</sup> Those who in our day call themselves Laud's disciples would as soon strive to promote a union between the Mormons and Shakers in America as take any interest in Lutherans and Calvinists.



in the pillory; Hampden in vain appealed to the sages of Westminster Hall; and all this time there was a Southern power on the watch to profit by the strange state of things in England. A squabble had been going on for years between the Seculars and the Regulars in the Roman Catholic Church in our land; the Sorbonne had taken one side, the Jesuits the other. In 1634 Pope Urban VIII. sent the Tuscan priest Panzani to London to feel the pulse of the English. Queen Henrietta, her husband's bane in the future, had brought many of the Court over to her views; Roman Catholic schoolmasters were allowed to teach in many parts of London; the King's preachers were full of the praises of the moderate Papists. These preachers recommended auricular confession and the adornment of churches; and many wished for reunion with Rome. Secretary Windebank seemed ready to meet Panzani half way, and said, "If we had neither Jesuits nor Puritans in England, an union might be effected." Three things Rome must give up: the Communion in one kind, the Latin liturgy, and clerical celibacy. Bishop Montague declared that a great number of prelates and priests were ready to acknowledge a purely spiritual supremacy of the Pope; Montague himself was willing to kiss Urban's feet. Goodman, the Bishop of Gloucester, observed many of the rites of Rome, and died later in her communion. Panzani was much blamed by his superiors for discussing the English oath of allegiance, condemned by Rome; we can see that the Deposing power was still one of the choicest jewels in her crown. The great enemies of this oath, the Jesuits, three hundred strong, used commonly to say that their religion would never be restored in England but by the sword; they seemed to have had much insight into the English character. They were very angry at Panzani's mission, which they did their best to thwart. He advised their Provincial to prevent any controversy about the oath of allegiance without express license from Rome.<sup>1</sup> He puts the number of English Catholics at 150,000; many of these lived as Protestants; others kept a priest in their

<sup>1</sup> See Berington's *Memoirs of Panzani*, published in 1793, 133-257.



house so secretly as to be of no spiritual help to their poorer neighbours. These weaklings (some were of the highest rank) were called schismatics by their bolder brethren. A great change was coming over Protestants; their preachers often denounced the schism with Rome, and advocated mild treatment of the moderate Catholics. Missionaries were sent to England from thirteen foreign colleges. The Regulars were more prone to fall into temptation than the Seculars. Many irregularities occurred in administering the Sacraments; thus English words were coupled with the Eucharist; some priests said too many Masses in the same day, and a few gave scandal by taking snuff before celebrating. Some Dominicans did not use the Roman rite. Every priest pretended to be able to annul marriages.<sup>1</sup>

These times were much like our own; our aristocracy has, at many periods, shown a leaning to the Mass, or something like it; weak-minded clerics and feather-headed ladies were now going over in shoals to Rome, while the great body of the people stood fast in their Protestantism. Of this they were soon to give too boisterous evidence; Laud's ceremonies, so sternly enforced, caused in the end the destruction of much fine old painted glass and other gems of antiquity, while we owe to him the change of the communion table from the body of the church to the East end, a position to which few in our days object.

In 1637 Laud's new Prayer-Book drove the Scotch into rebellion, and thenceforward for the next twenty-three years there was little peace in the British Isles. Charles summoned a Parliament in 1640; his dismissal of this easy-going assembly is, if we except the arrest of the Five Members, the chief blunder of his life. Later in the year the Long Parliament met, abolished the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court, did away with the impressment of soldiers, and brought Strafford to the block. One of the great grievances of the time was the oppression of the Puritans by Laud and his brethren; this was now taken in hand.

<sup>1</sup> I take part of Panzani's account from Mazière Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 83-95.

Episcopacy was openly threatened, and the first breach in the ranks of the patriots (they were not all Puritans) becomes perceptible. Hyde boasts of the services which he as chairman did to the Church at this time; efforts were made, in a very thin house at the end of the session, to make violent ecclesiastical reforms, of which the House of Lords showed their disapproval. There has always been a disagreement between the English upper and middle classes on Church matters.

A great part of the Commons were now evidently coming round to Charles when the Irish Rebellion broke out in October 1641 and upset all calculations. A standing army now became a necessity, and Parliament would have been simply mad to entrust so faithless a King as Charles with the command of a standing army. Hence the Crown had to be stripped of a part of its old prerogatives; the Grand Remonstrance was put forth, the number of voters being very even; but soon the King's attempt to seize the Five Members threw the game into the hands of the Parliament. Each side, making earnest reference to the old laws, insisted on having the command of the army; the nineteen propositions tendered to Charles at York seemed designed to turn him into a Doge of Venice, though these propositions have, in our day, become indirectly the custom of the land. Neither side would yield; war broke out late in the summer of 1642, and lasted for four years. A line drawn from Boston through Leicester and Aylesbury to Arundel shows where the Parliament's strength lay; this line was seldom overstepped from the West. On the Western side of this line the whole land from Northumberland to Cornwall was a scene of furious civil war, abounding in sieges, though the great battles were few. It has been said that Protestantism has had a brutalising effect upon its votaries; we may contrast the general humanity shown by the soldiers on English ground with what went on in the Vendean war in France and the Carlist war in Spain at a time when the world, as is thought, was more civilised than in 1640.

At first the Royalists had the upper hand; Pym and his friends were therefore driven to the bitter medicine of

the Scotch League and Covenant; a new army from the North soon turned the scale. The one man Cromwell made all the difference; his favourite divines did much for the cause; if the English Constitution were to boast a coat of arms, it would have for its two supporters a Latin Prelate of the Thirteenth century in cope and mitre, and a Puritan preacher of the Seventeenth in gown and bands, the creating and preserving influences which prevented England's Constitution from going the way of Castile. The Bishops, the great enemies of these preachers, had already been excluded from the House of Lords with the King's unwilling consent. The Anglican Prayer-Book was now put down, and about 2000 of the clergy were driven from their livings. Laud was beheaded after a most scandalous trial. The Independent party in Parliament now began to encroach upon the Presbyterians and to claim freedom of conscience, in which respect England had hitherto lagged behind Transylvania and France.

All kinds of strange creeds burst forth, as Baxter relates; there were Independents, Anabaptists, followers of Vane, Seekers, Ranters, Quakers, and Behmenists. Elizabeth's iron grip having been removed, and the hierarchy having been muzzled, the nation split into a variety of lawless sects, and went far beyond Cartwright's Presbyterianism. Baxter believed that the Devil and the Jesuits were at the bottom of the whole turmoil. The last-mentioned Fathers had anything but a happy time. No Roman Catholic priest had been put to death on account of his religion for twelve years before the meeting of the Long Parliament. But within the next six years twenty priests were executed under the rule of that assembly. The Recusant laity, in common with the rest of the defeated party, were stripped nearly bare by the conquerors. Long lists of the King's Roman Catholic subjects slain in battle are extant. After 1646 only two priests suffered, one of them when Cromwell was master of all.<sup>1</sup>

This was the period when England, for the first and last time, was ruled by the sword; her warlike masters, as has been said, looked back upon Agincourt and looked for-

<sup>1</sup> For all this see Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, vol. ii.

ward to Armageddon. Yet she need not be ashamed of the man who was acclaimed as her Lord by the soldiers. The weakness of the nation seemed to have been buried in Charles's grave; the old times of Elizabeth returned; Spain was humbled, Holland's monopoly of trade was swept away by new Navigation laws, Protestants everywhere found a Protector. The Pope's children (France is the exception) were steadily going down in the world. Our navy has thriven ever since these days; our army was to be set on foot in its permanent shape a few years later.

It is hard to say anything new about Cromwell; but I would point out that he owed much to his sober mode of life from his youth upwards. Other powerful despots have been known to sap their natural strength by debauchery, to fall in their latter days under the government of women and priests, and to come to a dismal end. But Cromwell was as vigorous at the time of his death as when he first came up to the Long Parliament. To him Protestantism was what the Revolution was afterwards to Napoleon. Oliver's principles lived long; Charles II. returned, but the King's Cavalier Parliaments were as averse to the Pope as any of the old Puritan assemblies had been. Still there was no shedding of Roman Catholic blood for four and twenty years before Oates's discoveries. The Church and Crown lands, which had been torn from the former owners, were at once restored; but little was done for the great body of the King's adherents, who had bled and starved for an ungrateful master. The Bishops went back to their seats in the House of Lords, the Anglican Prayer-Book was re-established, and an Act of Uniformity was passed, which drove 2000 Presbyterian ministers from their livings. Conscience certainly played a greater part in the twenty years after 1642 than it had done in 1559. Hitherto foreign Presbyterians—Casaubon for instance—had been allowed to hold preferment in the English Church; but now Episcopal re-ordination was insisted upon. Soon the unwholesome gaols were filled with thousands of Nonconformists, both ministers and hearers; conscience was grievously shackled in this Protestant land. The affairs of Scotland



lie outside the purpose of this work; but assuredly never did Protestants persecute their brethren with greater ferocity than in Scotland about this time.

There is little that posterity can find to 'admire in the reigns of the two last Stuart Kings except the courage of English seamen, though shown in a most unworthy cause. Foreigners willingly bore witness to this. Sir William Temple affirms that the yeomanry and commonalty of England are generally braver than in other countries, because by the plenty and constitutions of the kingdom they are so much easier in their rents and taxes, and fare so much better than those of their rank in any other nation, their chief, and indeed constant, food being of flesh. Prince Maurice used to call for the English that were newly come over, and had (as he said) their own beef in their bellies, for any desperate action. The renowned De Witte confessed to Temple, after a great three days' battle, in which the odds were much against England, that she gained more honour to our nation and the invincible courage of our seamen than by other victories; that he was sure their men (the Dutch) could never have been brought on the two following days, after the disadvantages of the first; and he believed no other nation was capable of it but ours.<sup>1</sup>

Sorbière, who visited England in 1663, finds in her some trace of old Rome; for patriotism, pride, union at home, boldness in danger are readily seen, and there is also a love for setting animals to fight. The natives have no liking for foreigners and are very free with the term "French dog."<sup>2</sup> They are given to laziness and smoking tobacco while discussing politics. There are no tokens of misery, for poverty is much less than in other countries. Parks abound, and the land is covered with trees; Hyde Park is spoilt by the number of low vehicles admitted; the only diversion there is to drive round in a huge circle. The nobles are very proud, and are not obliged to pay their debts; our traveller could not get payment from a very

<sup>1</sup> Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces*, 166, 209.

<sup>2</sup> A Frenchman was called in Holland *un moucheron*; in Italy, *matto Francese*, 8, 10. I have used the Cologne edition of Sorbière, 1667.



rich and philosophic nobleman (Worcester?) The Earl of Devonshire, the pupil of Hobbes, was all that could be wished. The mansion at Hatfield is described at great length. The King has to be affable to the gentry, and these in turn to their inferiors; privates in the army speak to their officers without any salute. The farms are let at a low rate; a gentleman is held cheap if he does not keep a good table. The cookery is vile, and huge pieces of meat are the staple; forks are little used. Every artisan must strike work early to smoke in a tavern; and shops do not open till seven in the morning; this laziness gives the Dutch a great advantage over the English. The herring fishery is the stone of stumbling between the two nations that dispute the freedom of the sea. There is no town in the world that can show so many fine shops as London, but the public buildings are poor; the number of book-sellers is prodigious. Chemistry, mechanics, mathematics, and natural history are studied by the King and most of the nobles; they are always attempting new inventions. The religion of the State is not popular in London; preaching is the great object, and so the churches abound in galleries. The Nonconformists are very averse to pluralities and to excommunications for frivolous causes; no clergyman dare speak or put on his hat before a Bishop.

Much about the same time as Sorbière, Chamberlayne began his observations on the State of England; a book of which sixteen editions came out by the year 1687. He compares the upper class to the finest flower, and the lower class to the coarsest bran; for the peasants are so well fed that they become rich, lazy, insolent, and apt to meddle with Church and State.<sup>1</sup> The old vices were gluttony, lasciviousness, and pride in apparel; excessive drinking came later, after the wars in Holland; but the use of tea, coffee, and chocolate has effected some improvement. The English are often overreached, especially in treaties with foreigners; they are much given to literature, and since 1640 there have been more good and more bad books

<sup>1</sup> He quotes an old line :—

*Rustica gens est optima flens et pessima ridens.*

published in English than in all the vulgar tongues of Europe. The gentry are so fond of sports that estates are oftener sold here than elsewhere; it is thought beneath a gentleman to bargain beforehand at an inn; hence mean fellows rise in the world. Of late the sons of gentry have been seen sitting in shops and peddling at trade, "to the shame of our nation." The land in possession of the gentry amounts to about four millions and sixty thousand pounds of yearly revenue. The freeholders are richer and more numerous than in other lands; sometimes, as in Kent, their revenues come to £1500 a year. Merchants are looked upon as much higher than mere tradesmen. The day labourers have high wages and cheap food, and so live better than their brethren elsewhere. Houses in cities are no longer built of wood, but of stone or brick; the rooms, formerly wainscotted, are now hung with tapestry. Even mechanics and husbandmen have silver spoons and cups. The windows are everywhere glazed, and not made of paper or wood, as in Italy and Spain. The upper class does not spend much on wearing apparel; but citizens, countrymen, and servants dress above their quality. Servants, though liable to correction, are better off now than of old, when England was called the Paradise of wives, the Purgatory of servants, and the Hell of horses. A foreign slave, brought into England, is free from slavery upon landing.<sup>1</sup> There are few men now left in pure villeinage. Women are better off than elsewhere, being saved from drudgery and hardship; all the women in Europe would run over hither if there were a bridge. Good nature is a quality so peculiar to Englishmen that it cannot be translated into another tongue. Chamberlayne, a high Tory, points out that his Church keepeth the middle way between the point of superstitious tyranny and the meanness of fanatic anarchy; he looks back to the days of Laud, which he could well remember, as a noble epoch. He hopes that Presbyterians, Quakers, Fifth Monarchy men, Ranters, Family of love, and other mushrooms of Christianity named by him the Pudenda of the nation, may soon vanish in this blessed day of

<sup>1</sup> This was once more affirmed, in the next Century, by Lord Mansfield.

Order. England contains 9725 parishes; of old, one third of the land belonged to the Church, and there was so little quarrelling that 140 sworn Attorneys were enough for the whole kingdom. The Church has since been stripped of its revenues to a great degree; the clergy are taxed more than the laity, in proportion. Some of the bishoprics are not worth more than £200 a year. An artisan would hardly change his lot for that of a common parson. It was held a little earlier that to give to the Church smelt of Judaism and Popery; to take from the Church its revenues was Reformation. Many think it a stain on their blood to breed their sons to the Church, and women are ashamed to marry with parsons. Of all the clergy in Europe, Romish, Lutheran, or Calvinist, none are so little respected or obeyed as the Anglican, even by the men of their own communion.<sup>1</sup> Many think that tithes are a rag of Popery, and contrive to cheat the clergy by double leases, great fines, and small rents, and certain other ways of robbing God. Grammar schools have been founded of late in almost every market town; but the poor lads are kept idle for ten years, are diverted from the plough, and become serving-men or petti-foggers; they are apt to embrace any heresy or schism, and had much to do with the late Rebellion. England is overstocked with scholars. Yet the Royal Society is worthy of all honour; it arose first in Wadham College, Oxford, some years before the Restoration, comprising among others Boyle, Petty, Wallis, and Wren; about 1658 their meetings came to be held in London, and Charles II. bestowed a charter upon them in 1663. They have already made a vast number of experiments, and their discoveries have surpassed the works of many foregoing ages. They have awakened the whole civilised world, and have formed one of the largest collections of the works of Nature to be found anywhere. Chamberlayne might have added that Boyle had a happier lot in England than Galileo in Italy.

The author of *Europæ Modernæ Speculum* wrote in

<sup>1</sup> Even a Century later Parson Adams is not held to be fit company for Lady Booby's table.

1665 ; he declares that England's interests are: (1) Negotiation with foreign parts ; (2) Trade and the Dominion of the Sea ; (3) the Protestant Religion ; (4) Unity, under an excellent Prince, made up of power and sweetness, whose soul is thronged with all the virtues of Kings. The Court, we learn with some amazement, is full, thrifty, wary, and strict. The author refers to the former government as a system of Taxes, Plunder, and Free-quarter ; the misdeeds of Oliver's red-coats account for much of the King's popularity.<sup>1</sup>

About 1669 Charles II. was seriously thinking of restoring the Papal religion, with the help of his French paymaster.<sup>2</sup> "There were never yet such hopes since the death of our Queen Mary as now in our days." Thus wrote the unlucky Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, a man who was afterwards the first victim of the Popish Plot in 1678. Never was there so foul a series of events ; angry mobs, servile judges, and forsworn witnesses were all backed by self-seeking Achitophel, contending for the palm of infamy. Even the most respectable of the Anglican clergy swelled the cry against the much-loathed Papists ; and this went on for two long years and more. The Jesuits and Court intriguers had been playing with fire and had suffered accordingly.

Nothing but the unwearied help of the Church at this crisis could have enabled Charles to preserve his Roman Catholic brother's rights ; every parson thundered every Sunday on the duty owed by the subject to the Crown and the indefeasible rights of Royalty. These preachers would have nothing to do with the theories of Mariana on the one hand, of Knox on the other. The Anglican Church sank to its lowest depth when the University of Oxford put forth her famous decree against all notions of popular government. England, misled by her Church, seemed on the road to ruin. One thing alone saved her ; she set Protestantism even higher than the will of her King. The

<sup>1</sup> See this Book, p. 252-253.

<sup>2</sup> By this year the English Romanists had risen to nearly 200,000. See Mazière Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 107.

Tory Bishop here grasped hands with the Nonconformist handicraftsman. James II. and his priests could do nothing against settled popular feeling; Oxford herself turned against him. His folly, ruinous to his own creed-brethren, is hard to believe; it ended in placing the champion of European freedom on the English throne, and in sweeping away for ever any notions of the Divine Right of Kings—the delight of servile lawyers and priests. No more were our Monarchs and Parliaments to paralyse each other, while Despots abroad seized upon whatever they chose. This explains why the English Revolution was hailed with as much joy at Rome, Vienna, and Madrid as at Amsterdam and Berlin. The Duchess of Portsmouth and Father Petre were to be replaced as rulers by men of the stamp of Walpole and Pitt, the offspring of a vigorous Protestantism. For two hundred years has England been governed by the hereditary and the elective Monarchs, sitting side by side. For a Century after 1689 she had no European rival in her good fortune, and at this particular time she overtopped every other powerful realm in the weighty matter of good government.

The Primate, seven other Bishops, and about four hundred of the clergy refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereigns; hence arose a schism, which lasted down to the Nineteenth century. This did not prevent a sharp contest for years between High Church and Low Church; while the Nonconformists gained at last a legal toleration. On the other hand, William was forced by his Parliament to sanction sharp laws against the English Roman Catholics, though their brethren swarmed in his Dutch armies, much to the advantage of European freedom. Misson gives us a sketch of the England of 1697. He talks of eleven regiments wholly made up of French refugees; there was hardly a great house in which some of them were not found. They had gone in crowds to Scotland and Ireland and to the Channel Islands. There were twenty-two French churches in London, and a hundred ministers, paid by the State. Their head was Lord Galway, who could sometimes hardly stir in his own house, so great



was the concourse. Queen Mary, "who was goodness and charity itself," worked and wore various French articles, and by thus setting the fashion supported numbers of the exiles. The ministers gave some scandal in England by wearing their hats when preaching. Some had built churches and lived by the pew rents. There was a Committee of French refugees, who distributed the English alms to those that most needed them; this Committee draws forth Misson's warmest praises.<sup>1</sup> He wonders why the English should be accused of being treacherous when any man would be torn in pieces by the prentices of the neighbourhood if he should use a cane or a sword upon an unarmed man. Anything that looks like fighting is delicious to the English. If two small boys quarrel, a ring is made at once, and men of fashion are as eager as the common folk to see the fight. The blows are all aimed at the face, shins are kicked, and hair is tugged; one or two blows may be given to a fallen combatant. A gentleman will fight a coachman about his fare.<sup>2</sup> Beggars abounded at this time in London; in 1600 it had been very different.

In the next reign the Union with Scotland, the most statesmanlike of all measures, was effected. Soon afterwards the Tories, thanks to Godolphin's folly, climbed into power for four years; we see the squires, the parsons, and the town mobs all united in the cause of intolerance. By them Louis XIV. was rescued from utter ruin. In 1708 Bishop Burnet gives us a glimpse of the England of his time in the long paper he added to his *History*. He suggests many improvements in the management of the Church, some of which have since been carried out; he thinks our worship the most perfect composition of devotion that we find in any church, ancient or modern, though he has no love for the Canon law or the lack of discipline. He mourns that the clergy have not the zeal of the Roman Catholics, of the foreign churches, and of the Dissenters at home. Most

<sup>1</sup> I have used Ozell's translation, see 42, 81, 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 73, 304. Misson saw the deceased Duke of Grafton fight with such a fellow, "whom he lamb'd most horribly."

of his brethren live without scandal, but they should aim at more, at exemplary life. Of all clergy the Anglicans are the most remiss in their private labours, and the least severe in their lives; Bishops maintain too much pomp and luxury. As to candidates for orders, "I never," says Burnet, "put over the examining them to my chaplains; I did that always myself." But the clergy are too easy in signing testimonials; simony is very prevalent. Non-residence and pluralities linger among us, while Rome has got rid of them; our Church alone tolerates such abuses. As to the laity, the commonalty of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any that ever Burnet saw. This is much from him, for he knew Holland and Switzerland well. The English are very sagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns, but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of religion. This is wonderful if we consider the thousands of tracts distributed by charitable societies in London. Burnet recommends catechising, plain sermons, and visiting the people before they are on their deathbeds. The English gentry are the worst instructed and the least knowing of any of their rank that Burnet ever saw; the Scotch are far superior.<sup>1</sup> Our lords learn at the Universities to love arbitrary government and to hate dissenters. They ought to be taught what Popery is; the whole body of Protestants, if united, should be a match for Rome; but the Reformed are cold and unconcerned in religious matters, lacking the fire of the Jesuits. The men of trade and business are the best body in our nation, generous, sober, charitable, and religious. Noblemen begin to dispense with chaplains in their houses, and too many of these clerics are unworthy men. Parliament must be diseased so long as elections are set to sale. The Law is our greatest grievance; there is no end to suits, especially in Chancery. The Poor law, as it is, encourages idleness and sloth; Holland is the most perfect pattern for putting charity in a good method. Burnet winds up with a

<sup>1</sup> I fear that most of our gentry resembled Squire Western rather than Sir Roger.

eulogy on religion, distinguishing a reliance upon outward forms from a true sense of Divine truth.

Much about the time that Burnet penned his sketch of England our attention is caught by a seaman, who proves how utterly the English nature can be debased by fanaticism in religion. In 1708 one Smith, a secret Papist, was captain of a war ship of Queen Anne's. This ship he sold in Sweden, and fled with the profits to take service with King Louis. He was full of projects for burning English villages, especially Harwich. Never was there seen so furious an enemy of England. If any countrymen of his were brought prisoners into Dunkirk, he gave money to the gaoler and the sentinels, that the captives might be prevented from receiving alms. He was always begging that the Huguenots on board the galleys might be flogged. He was more eager for combat than the French officers themselves, and, becoming unpopular, was deserted in action by his colleagues. Overpowered by the English enemy, and knowing that a price of a thousand pounds was set on his head, he made an attempt to blow up his ship; but his crew strapped him to the mast and surrendered. Cannons were fired by the English, overjoyed at having captured the traitor, a bold and skilful seaman. He in vain offered to turn Protestant; he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his limbs might be seen, five years later, exposed on the Thames.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been a worse man than Elizabeth's officers, who betrayed Dutch towns to the Spaniards.

Never did the mass of Englishmen enjoy greater prosperity than under Walpole. But this is the very time of their greatest carelessness as to the matters dearest to Burnet's heart; Ouranius, the model priest in Law's *Serious Call*, must have stood very much alone. About the year 1730 was our Nadir in these affairs; the earnestness of the Nonjurors had ceased to stir the land, and the Wesleyans had not yet arisen. The Peace of Utrecht had

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires d'un Protestant* (Journal of Marteilhe), 169, 527. This Smith is also mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Drake, an Irish officer, quoted by O'Callaghan, *Irish Brigades*, 257.

fostered great attention to material interests, but little regard to humanity. The Church was drowsy, but not given to persecution. The House of Hanover was firmly seated on the throne, not much disturbed by the inroad in 1745, which seems like an episode from the Crusades, pitched down at random into the midst of a stock-jobbing and slave-trading generation. Oxford had for centuries been the cradle of many a religious movement; in her the earliest of our Franciscans and the earliest of our teachers of Greek had found a home; she had bred Wickliffe, Hooker, and Laud. She now sent forth Wesley and Whitefield, men whom the Church neglected to make her own. Here England found something more suited to her needs than all the lore of Butler and Warburton. Within a few years the country was overspread with preachers, something like the early begging friars, men out of sympathy with the parish priest, but most earnest in reminding their hearers of the new birth and the life beyond the grave. They persevered in the teeth of insult and outrage, and soon leavened England with their fiery zeal. Hogarth, our best authority on the manners of the time, shows us a poor wretch on his way to the gallows; on the one side of the cart the salaried parson is sleeping; on the other side one of the new preachers is awakening the doomed man to thoughts of a future state. These disciples of Wesley spoke little of Apostolic order or the sacraments of the Church; they fixed the attention of their hearers upon the Redeemer of mankind and upon little else.

The Universities of this time were somewhat like the sleeping parson. Gibbon's account of his sojourn at Oxford is too well known to be quoted here; some years later Wilberforce informs us what Cambridge teaching was. The Fellows of his college told him that he was too clever to require mathematics; they did not, he says, act towards him the part of Christians or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be to make and keep him idle. If ever he appeared studious, they would say to him, "Why in the world should a man of your fortune trouble himself with fagging?"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 11.

Now was seen the practical advantage of the House of Commons; through it the elder Pitt, a statesman with few political connections, climbed to the head of affairs. England, after having been long in labour, had at last brought forth a man. He was strong in the support of the City of London and of most other towns; he gave to Britain the mastery over France and Spain; Bengal and Canada became parts of the Empire. Never had his country waged so glorious a war; how much of the history of Europe, Asia, and America lurks in those homely monosyllables, Pitt, Wolfe, Clive! But the pride of 1763 went before the fall of 1775. It is a bitter thought that but for the blind unreason of George III. and his European subjects the whole of English-speaking America would now be sending troops to uphold British rights in South Africa. But perhaps it would not be for the good of the world, if any nation could put forth the present strength of London and Washington united. Again, had there been no disruption, Britain would probably have shrunk from pouring out her money to redeem millions of black slaves, far more numerous than those in the West Indies. The American negro was to owe his freedom to a very different set of circumstances. Still, at the time we are treating of, Cook was to compensate us for our great loss by his discoveries in seas as yet untraversed, the future birthplace of a new Empire.

I am happy to insert here some notes from a French traveller who came hither in 1765; he was well read in the classics and in mediæval lore, and was a friend of Lords Temple and Chesterfield.<sup>1</sup> He remarks that of all the great towns of Europe, London is the only one where there are no murders, though old men unarmed constitute the police. The people are good-natured, and give children the best places in a crowd; coachmen manage four hundred carriages, as at Ranelagh, without any quarrelling.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, there was much rudeness, especially among

<sup>1</sup> This book, printed without the author's name is called *Londres*; I have used the Lausanne edition of 1774.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 109.



the watermen; "French dog" was a term often applied to our author; Marshal Saxe once had to throw one of these gentry into a cart full of mud. A wretch in the pillory was sure to be assailed with mud, rotten eggs, and dead dogs; the cry *ourey* (hooray) was already known. Yet fair play was always shown in a fight. The English throve upon beef and beer; porter was made only in London, and had long been confined to the lower classes.<sup>1</sup> Coachmen would hardly make way for the king; "Why should I salute him?" they would say; "he lives at my expense."<sup>2</sup> The poor were well maintained; hard-working families were helped, and beggary was banished from London; wages were double those of Paris, but everything was dear. Alms collected in the parishes were given to all, without distinction of religion.<sup>3</sup> The arable land was scanty, in comparison with the parks and pastures, but the farming was admirable; the peasants took as much interest in politics as any other class. They had a usage of clipping their asses' ears. The English turf, as seen in Kew Gardens, was delightful. Hunting was to the English what music was to the Italians; the ladies were good riders.<sup>4</sup> Our traveller saw at Eton sixty boys in their shirts (young Fox may have been among them) playing at a sort of tennis (cricket?), which required much skill; this went on every day. A dozen of these lads were afterwards met in what was perhaps even then called "a sock shop" up town.<sup>5</sup> Sunday was strictly observed in London; there was no singing or playing of instruments in any house; the watermen did not ply on the river; the tolls on the road were doubled or trebled. Even a young officer refused to sing an English air in a coach on Sunday. Westminster Abbey was shut, except for service. The choristers were young scamps; the pews allowed their inmates to sleep. Pulpit oratory was a killing monotony. The rector preached when he chose; the curate had thirty guineas certain. Most of the wives of Dissenters attended the

<sup>1</sup> *Londres*, i. 151, 158, 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 299.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 116; ii. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 272, 294, 327.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 340.

churching of women. The parsons saved hardly anything, and at their death their daughters, untrained to anything useful, often underwent the saddest of all fates.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury gave every Sunday a dinner of thirty covers, where a huge piece of beef duly appeared. St. Paul's could be seen only on payment of three pence a head.<sup>2</sup>

Our Frenchman, an enlightened man, had many a sad encounter with his Huguenot countrymen, who still said their prayers in their own tongue. They prayed for the Royal family, and then asked that God would soften the hearts of sovereigns irritated against His people; they still awaited a new Cyrus. An old Dauphinois, more than ninety, declared that, if permitted, he would set out the next day for his dear country. He estimated at 30,000 the number of his compatriots established in London alone. Some Huguenot women, who had come to a parish church for alms, affirmed that the charity of the English was the reason why God blessed all their enterprises; and that He must view with wrathful eyes a kingdom which had cut off its arms and legs to hand over the rest to the Jesuits. These women knew all about the Calas business. The Jews had a synagogue near the Tower; they were Spaniards and Portuguese, and looked down upon their German brother; 20,000 of them, wearied of the Inquisition, had come over between 1720 and 1740.<sup>3</sup>

As to men of letters: in France they were isolated and useless; in England they were found among the clergy, lawyers, and soldiers alike; the Parliament men took the keenest interest in scientific matters; a parson was one of the perpetual secretaries of the Royal Society. Our traveller had no love for Shakespeare; he remarked that the London actresses were followed about on the stage by young scamps in livery, to hold up their trains; the

<sup>1</sup> *Londres*, i. 352; ii. 111, 115, 124, 128; iii. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 71; iii. 67. By 1848 only two pence were demanded; there are many jokes in *Punch* about this exaction, which was soon afterwards abolished.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 167, 171, 175, 221

English cared little for comedy and much for tragedy. A grand scene in real life much attracted him; this was the trial of Lord Byron for murder before his peers in Westminster Hall. Another public event was the Spitalfields riots, organised against the Duke of Bedford.<sup>1</sup>

The English Roman Catholics lay low during the Eighteenth century. At its outset they were supposed at Rome to be tainted with Jansenism, but this charge was repelled. In 1716 Pope Clement XI. had an oath of allegiance to George I. drawn up, much to the disgust of the Stuart exiles; had such an oath been sanctioned by Rome about 1580, many a stout English priest might have escaped the gallows and quartering block. But the new oath proved a failure.<sup>2</sup> In 1765 the English Roman Catholics were much harassed by a knave named Payne, who was bent on earning the reward promised by law for convicting priests, and so dragged many of them before the magistrates; one was condemned to imprisonment for life. Lord Mansfield did all he could to thwart these prosecutions. At this time, in 1773, there were 20,000 of the hated sect in London, and only 200 in Surrey, 100 in Hertfordshire. In Lancashire there were 14,000, in Cornwall only 45, and in all Wales but 750. By the year 1840 they seem to have increased tenfold, probably by large Irish immigration; it is curious to remark how thick they clustered around such mansions as Ugbrooke, Lulworth, and Wardour.<sup>3</sup> In 1778 Parliament passed an Act which put a stop to all prosecutions such as those of Payne; this was the first favour conferred by English law upon the Pope's followers since the days of Queen Mary. By this Act Protestant feeling was at once aroused, and in

<sup>1</sup> *Londres*, iii. 161, 316. In i. 270 there is an account of Alberoni, who, so early as 1746, saw how loose was the tie between Britain and her colonies. He said to our author, "Let the Pretender rally his partisans in Corsica, transport them to Boston or Halifax, there grant free toleration and exemption from taxes, and set up an independent Parliament; he will soon see England at his feet."

<sup>2</sup> Berington's *Panzani*, 399, 406.

<sup>3</sup> Mazière Brady, *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy*, 167, 169, 263, 301, 314.

two years the infamous Lord George Gordon riots followed. Still the mob, even in its worst moments, shed no blood; the one advantage gained from their proceedings was this, that they taught London the exact meaning of the word mob-law, which was to be a most useful piece of knowledge in the next twenty years. Admirers of the English Protestant Constitution found George III. a very different ruler from his Hanoverian forefathers; Horace Walpole is never weary of complaining of the favour shown by the Court at the beginning of this reign to French Canadians, Irish Papists, and Scotch Jacobites. The year 1801 was unhappily to tell a most dissimilar tale. It is curious to mark, in Bishop Watson's memoirs, a sound English Whig veering round by degrees to the side of the Roman Catholics towards the end of the century.

The increased interest taken by the English in religion led of course to the spread of humanity. Howard visited the gaols both of his own and of foreign lands; Raikes founded Sunday schools; Hannah More left writing for the stage to busy her pen, like Crabbe, with the lot of the English peasant; Wilberforce, backed by the younger Pitt, began his Crusade against the slave trade, a craft by which England had her wealth in no small measure. Burke, somewhat exaggerating, denounced the Proconsul, whom he regarded as the oppressor of India. A band of men, both lay and clerical, were rising in the land, wedded to the theology of the Elizabethan age, ready to scorn all the allurements of pomp and wealth. They insisted mainly upon the utter corruption of man's nature, upon the free salvation offered by Christ's death, and upon the holy lives that men should lead if they have any gratitude for the favours of God. Newton, that old slave-trader, represented this school in London; Simeon, in the teeth of bitter opposition, leavened Cambridge with the revived doctrines. Cowper, in charming verses, attacked the sins and follies of the great world. Great Missionary societies sent forth men to convert heathendom; from these the State, as well as the Church, has since reaped vast benefit, more especially in Southern Africa. In many of these undertakings both

Anglicans and Dissenters could unite. To no sect does humanity owe more than to the Quakers.

Religion was astir in the land, and Miss Austen's parsons were no longer to represent the clergy. Not less progress was made in matters temporal; Britain was to be the workshop of the world as well as to carry its trade in her ships. Brindley and his noble patron drove canals through the land, and made the old packhorse a thing of the past. Watt discovered the powers of the steam-engine. Hargreaves and Arkwright made a revolution in the spinning trade. Adam Smith taught the world what was the true source of the wealth of nations, and from him the younger Pitt was proud to learn. The first nine years of this Minister's power seemed to be a golden age. England rapidly made up for the losses of the American War, and possessed in her new inventors the men who would enable her to triumph in a far greater struggle. The Ministers, father and son, who swayed Parliaments for nearly fifty years after the beginning of the Seven Years' War seemed to realise Ovid's noble line on the Fabii marching forth to the Cremera; one house had undertaken the strength and burden of the State. Far away, a score of soldiers and statesmen built up the British Empire in India within the hundred years that followed Plassey. Among the memories called up by the name India is a sad period of misrule when Clive for a time had left the country; this misrule was followed by a long period of government that has been a blessing to the subject nations. Here there was to be no room for a Verres or a Gessius Florus. Three hundred millions of men, settled in the enjoyment of a long peace, have good reason to give thanks for the purity of British administration. Few chapters of History are better worthy of study than the changed state of the Punjab for eight years after 1849, the forerunner of British action in Egypt forty years later. Long may India remain the best of training grounds for both our soldiers and our statesmen!

We may here remark that the reign of Elizabeth, a turning-point in our history, beheld a vast change in



English policy. So late as 1563 men were hankering after the old dominion in France, and could not bring themselves to give up the brilliant dreams of the Plantagenet kings. Later in Elizabeth's reign we turned our attention to settlements in Virginia and on neighbouring shores. We then made slow and steady progress with our Colonial Empire, cheap conquests on the whole, while we held nothing in Europe but Dunkirk for a few years, and Gibraltar afterwards. Meanwhile our European rivals were spending thousands of lives and mounds of treasure to acquire some small province like Alsace or some city like Arras. Whether of these two policies was the best all Europe saw plainly in 1899; and we cannot wonder that much ill-blood was the upshot.

Britain had much ado to hold her own when opposed at one and the same time by men like Washington, Suffren, and Hyder Ali; but worse was impending. The struggle of the Roman Senate against Hannibal was reproduced in 1793 or later; the strong practical energy of the old commonwealth, which never flinched against any odds, was once more at work in our island. Men like Collingwood and Hill showed how even the ancient Roman spirit might be improved by a reasonable form of Christianity. But it was mainly owing to Pitt, Nelson, and Wellington that Great Britain stood triumphant in 1815; she had lessons on reform to learn from her late enemy, and at once set about the task. So early as 1808 Romilly had begun his attempts to alter the absurd criminal code, at a time when death might be inflicted for more than two hundred misdeeds; he often failed, as he was opposed by the highest authorities in both the Church and the Law. After his death his work was taken up by Mackintosh, and the Tories were brought to desist from their former opposition. With the help of many of this party, Catholic Emancipation was carried in 1829, too late unhappily to promote the peace of Ireland. Three years later the Reform Bill accomplished a practical revolution in the British Parliament. Many wholesome changes succeeded this great measure: the new Poor Law of 1834, the pro-

tection of miners of either sex, the freedom of slaves in the colonies, the abolition of the Corn Laws. The year 1842 was the last in which the distress of the English poor was overwhelming, and what that distress was may be read in Disraeli's well-known novel. But steam, both by land and sea, came to the help of Britain, so that national prosperity and also population went on increasing in spite of the fearful Irish famine.

We have seen the vast influence exerted over the country by Low Churchmen and Dissenters; they backed Wilberforce and Buxton to some purpose; to their exertions Africa and India are deeply indebted. The clergy took the lead in establishing schools in many a neglected parish. Another and most different movement, owning Oxford for its birthplace, made itself felt all over the land soon after 1830, that year which beheld so brilliant a band of students both at Oxford and Cambridge. Any one who can remember the slovenly services, the neglected churches, the low views of clerical duty that prevailed about the middle of the Nineteenth century must acknowledge that much good was achieved by the new Reformers. They insisted upon the Sacraments and Apostolic Succession. But soon some of the leaders fell under the Roman spell; a want of truthfulness shocked the average English mind; and when Newman joined the Pope the English Church seemed to reel beneath the blow. He was followed by some of the clergy and by various enthusiastic ladies, but by few grocers and bakers. Soon came the Papal Aggression of 1850; and the deep mistrust of Rome that lurks in almost every born Englishman's heart blazed forth in a most unexpected way. The feeling seems to be reciprocated; Rome for many years could not understand the most illustrious convert she has made since Henry IV., and long refused him her highest honours. A sound Ultramontane wrote in 1866, "Every Englishman is naturally Anti-Roman; to be Roman is to an Englishman an effort; Dr. Newman is more English than the English; his spirit must be crushed."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cardinal Manning's Life*, ii. 323; he is not the author of the passage quoted.

Our country, happier than these children of Rome, has always been ruled by men who can thoroughly understand her, and who are not raised by their talents to a stupendous height above their countrymen. We have never brought forth any one answering to Hannibal of Carthage, to Frederick II. of Palermo, to Akbar of Agra. In genius Napoleon towers above the average Frenchman and Italian far higher than Cromwell does above the average Englishman. If we were to name the ten greatest men of our country, we should find that they all, when overtopping their fellows, rose just so high as never to lose touch of the general mass. For instance, a cheery figure (certainly not one of the ten) stands out boldly for many years in the middle of the Nineteenth century. It is impossible to defend all Lord Palmerston's meddlings with foreign States, but he certainly on the whole wrought more good than harm, and enjoyed the full confidence of his countrymen. Lord Burghley had long before aroused the wrath of England's enemies by championing the cause of foreign revolvers, and Lord Palmerston seemed to tread in the Elizabethan's footsteps. Philip II., Louis XIV., Napoleon, Nicholas, all would-be tyrants of Europe, have within the last 320 years felt in turn the strength of the British arm, the terror of all rotten systems, the mainstay of the balance of power. What did not Italy owe to us at the moment that the recreant Napoleon III. forbade her to bombard Gaeta, whence she was sweeping away the last of her native lay Despots? Britain may apply to the days of Burghley and Palmerston alike Waller's noble lines:—

Whether this portion of the world were rent  
By the wide ocean from the Continent,  
Or thus created; it was sure designed  
To be the sacred refuge of mankind.

One good effect of the Reformation is this: France has always looked upon herself as the champion of her Church, sometimes with black results, as in 1870. But Britain has no bonds of this kind. She may ally herself with countries in creed most unlike each other, as Russia, Sweden,

and Spain;<sup>1</sup> there is nothing in our religion to forbid this.

Since 1789 we have lost the proud pre-eminence in good government that we had enjoyed over Europe in the previous hundred years; still envy has not ceased to follow us. It is good to have an idea of the bitter hatred borne by foreign Ultramontanism to Great Britain, one of the proudest of our titles. This hatred was most furious for forty years after 1830. From its exponents we learn that our country wishes to keep its wealth by making other lands poor; she therefore unchains the Revolution upon luckless Europe. The Hindoo manages his elephant by establishing a raw in its neck; in the same way England keeps open the noisome sore of Revolution. The Government associates with itself the press of the Three Kingdoms, and has a horror of what is noble and righteous. England blushes not for her wrath without motive, for her calumnies without hatred, for her insults without courage. She will make a pact alike with Gracchus and with Nero. She has ready bombs to murder kings and chains to enslave peoples. She has ended by poisoning herself and changing her old traditions. She has always been the foe of the Holy Father. This daughter of Machiavel seems to have worked in Italy mainly through Bible Societies and Freemasons' Lodges, according to our veracious author, Crétineau-Joly, who is a fair specimen of the Ultramontane polemic.<sup>2</sup> It never seems to have struck him, or his like, that the real cause of Revolutions was not England or that chosen agent of Satan known by the name of Palmerston, but the infamous systems of government, such as prevailed through most of Europe for many years after 1849. When once these systems, dear to the Ultramontane heart, had been overthrown so late as 1870, no further complaints seem to have been made against England, her Bible Societies, and her Freemasons' Lodges.

It is to be wished that the charge of drunkenness so often made against the dwellers in the United Kingdom were equally baseless. Britain is at this time represented

<sup>1</sup> She was allied with all three in 1812 and 1813.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Church and Revolution*, ii. 194-197. He wrote in 1859.

in many a foreign harbour by drunken seamen, as Dryden complained long ago.<sup>1</sup> To this vice is mainly due the fearful poverty of hundreds of thousands in our large towns; nowhere so much as in Britain is seen such a glaring contrast between the very rich and the very poor. Other nations love to bring against her the charge of hypocrisy, and it is to be feared with good reason. Witness the eagerness of our middle class to enforce upon inferiors a strict observance of the Sabbath, such as is not practised by the zealots themselves. This was more common fifty years ago than now, as I can bear witness. When Mr. Parnell was swaying Ireland, the Dissenters in Britain were his warm allies so long as the Irish confined themselves to robbery and murder; he was convicted of adultery, and straightway these allies threw him over. Hence it became usual to talk of the Nonconformist conscience. These things, spots upon our character, should be ever held in mind by every sound patriot who is able to see the evil as well as the good.

At this point we close our sketch, a story of constant progress and of bit by bit reform, ending in our three great achievements, the Parliament, the Navy, and the Indian Empire. Little has been said of our wars; but we should never forget the memories of the late Century linked with Buenos Ayres, Walcheren, New Orleans, Cabul, the two British assaults on Sebastopol, Isandula, and the Black Week in 1899. Yet even our blunders have often in the end been of service; whatever we may think of Mr. Gladstone's curious policy in Southern Africa, he it was who in the end brought the valiant levies of Canada and Australia to the help of their Mother in the year just named. All must rejoice that our good Queen Victoria was spared to see that hearty union of the forces of the whole of her British Empire, so skilfully piloted by her for sixty-three years. No wonder that the nations of Europe, seeing this union for the first time, and being crushed themselves by the burden of four millions of soldiers, should gnash their teeth at a rival that, without having recourse

<sup>1</sup> Refer to *With Christ at Sea*, published by Mr. Bullen in 1900.



to conscription, can send such forces into the field, thousands of miles from home. We British can afford to smile, and may apply Petrarch's lines—

Orsi, lupi, leoni, aquile, e serpi  
Ad una gran marmorea colonna  
Fanno noia sovente e à se danno.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE BALANCE

AFTER having glanced at the manners and cities of so many men, it seems not unfair to strike a balance between the two great religious systems adopted by Western and Central Europe, with regard to the benefits conferred by these systems upon mankind.

Perhaps the best book put forth on the side of the Popes in our times is that of Balmes, a Catalan priest; it is a work entitled *Protestantism compared to Catholicism*, written between 1840 and 1844.<sup>1</sup> Down to 1480 he has an easy task in setting before us the picture of the Church in the act of bestowing her many boons upon our barbarous forefathers. Here he is upon galloping ground, and he makes the most of it. But after 1480 a change comes over the spirit of his dream. He apologises for the Spanish Inquisition, quotes a story of an infant being crucified by the Jews, and hints that such tales have more or less foundation (ii. 176). Still he thinks that it would have been better to have avoided bloodshed, and not to have displayed "excessive rigour."<sup>2</sup> But the Catholic religion is not answerable for these excesses. At Rome the Inquisition was most indulgent; Rome is the place where humanity has least suffered on account of religion. This

<sup>1</sup> I have had no scruple in using the French translation of this Spanish work, since this version has been made by a fervent admirer of Balmes, and may be easily procured.

<sup>2</sup> Under Philip II. the Inquisition punished a preacher for having asserted the absolute power of Kings. Balmes, ii. 206, evidently thinks that this atones for thousands of wrenched limbs and burnt bodies.

fact, Balmes tell us, is beyond doubt (ii. 394). He is very angry at a charge brought against the Popes of having withdrawn to themselves the suits brought against heretics in Spain, and of having absolved the misbelievers for money (ii. 413). Such a charge confirms all we know of the Popes as they existed about 1500. With regard to the mildness of the Inquisition at Rome, Paul IV. and Pius V. burnt every heretic they could lay hands on; as to this point Mc'Crie's *Reformation in Italy* should be read; Catena, a thorough man of the age, the biographer of Pius V., has no scruples about shedding blood. The most renowned victim burnt at Rome was Bruno.<sup>1</sup>

Coming down to the year 1500 or thereabouts, Balmes is enraptured with the state of society then existing. He says (iii. 295) that Justice had already a system of legislation both moral and equitable; that the people had shaken off in great measure the yoke of feudalism and had become aware of the dangers of Despotism. This seems strange to all who have studied the processes of the Inquisition, the state of affairs in France and Poland, and the ever-increasing power of the Crown in England. A fearful revolt of the Hungarian serfs against the nobles broke out at a time when Luther was still a devout Romanist. Further, there was but little of the brotherly love discovered by Balmes in Europe after 1500. Hitherto two nations, as France and England, had warred upon each other; now Spaniards, French, Germans, and Swiss were carrying on a savage strife in Northern Italy, the Pope himself taking a leading part in the fray; Venice, Europe's chief bulwark, was almost wiped out. Standing armies were much in vogue, the harbingers of Despotism. In this halcyon period of Balmes began the long rivalry between France and Spain, lasting for nearly two hundred years, and disastrous to Rome's spiritual interests.

We now come to 1517, when it seems that Luther spread havoc in what was once an earthly Paradise.

<sup>1</sup> Balmes avers that the Inquisition was never a political tool in the hands of Kings. He should have read the suppression of Aragonese freedom in 1591, and the part then played by the Inquisition.

Catholicism was thrown into an attitude of self-defence, and could not make the progress it otherwise would have done, or organise some vast system of charity for the good of the world. Her missionaries had now little hope of Christianising the globe. Brethren were henceforth armed against brethren, and the quarrel was carried over sea to America and Asia. Balmes contends (i. 17) that Protestantism does not owe its birth to abuses in religion, though he allows that the Council of Trent was afterwards assembled to correct abuses. He declares that these abuses were only pretexts (i. 23). With the last Borgia Pope staring him in the face, he avows that in Luther's age abuses were incomparably less numerous, that discipline was much more vigorous, than in earlier times. Order and regularity were making rapid progress (i. 27). Nothing is here said about the vast sums of money drained from Europe and enjoyed by Rome. How perverse was the German mind, which held in scorn this foretaste of heaven, lasting down to 1517, in order to follow vain meteors along the downward road! Balmes tells us (iii. 217) that the origin of Protestantism was essentially aristocratic. It may be answered that no doubt there were hundreds of German nobles eager to seize on the Church spoils; but the real fire of the movement blazed in the common folk and in burghers like those of Nuremberg. The appearance of Protestantism, it seems, was the signal for increased Despotism (iii. 239). It is hard to see how Luther's outbreak could have had any influence upon the loss of the liberties of Castile, or upon the suppression of Florentine freedom, a measure mainly due to the Pope of the time. The old Despotic Royalty in France was somewhat shaken by the Huguenots. The evil of Tudor tyranny was abated, even under the last of that house; and it is a strange exaggeration to say that Gustavus Vasa and his successors wielded an almost unlimited power. We are told (iii. 253) that Europe fled to Despotism in order to be shielded from the anarchy of contending sects. There was little religious anarchy in Spain or Italy; and England was able to put down both anarchy and Despotism; in Poland, the fairest

possession of the Jesuits, anarchy was allowed her full swing. Protestantism, we hear, committed a grievous wrong in breaking the power of the clergy, the mediator between all classes, the best bulwark against Despotism (iii. 258). But England pared down the power of the clergy without damage to herself; France, on the other hand, allowed her clergy vast power and wealth, finding out her mistake in 1789; small good came to Poland from her clergy, who did little to reconcile the jarring classes; half of the Castilian clergy took the side of Despotism in the critical year. Balmes declares that the influence of Catholicism being lessened, the spy system and brute force had to be called in (iii. 307). The power of the Popes was weakened, the bridle that moderated men without crushing them, and corrected them without humiliating them (Louis of Bavaria for example); the Kings later sought safety in standing armies, the peoples in rebellion. The instant that unity of faith vanished, each nation had to be on its guard against its neighbours. Balmes lays down the principle (iii. 309) that the Protestants, instead of establishing reasonable freedom, have forced the various peoples to choose between anarchy and Despotism. The histories of England, Holland, and Switzerland are a strange commentary upon this principle of his.

Balmes of course treats at length of the Jesuits; their life was short in comparison with that of other Orders, yet no Society has been assailed with such fury (ii. 332). Their enemies are—first, Protestants and Infidels; then, all who have little love for the authority of the Roman Church. Protestantism trusted to scholarship and the love of antiquity; the Jesuits were quite ready to combat on this ground, and to take the lead in mathematics, astronomy, and discoveries beyond the seas, where they were able missionaries. Their enemies succeeded in destroying them; they were soon avenged by a frightful Revolution. Balmes, forgetful of Pope Innocent XI., declares that the Jesuits defended the Papal authority wherever it was threatened; he says much of the learning of the Jesuits, but nothing of the wrongs done by them



to mankind when sitting in the cabinets of Kings; they prompted the most savage measures, as about 1690 in Hungary. He says nothing of their false morality, sometimes too bad for the Popes. His wrath blazes forth against Guizot (ii. 340), who had rashly written, "In England the Jesuits have ruined Kings; in Spain, nations." It was unlucky that Guizot did not here substitute the word Poland for Spain; for Balmes has an easy task in refuting what was said of the Peninsula. When he turns to England he most amusingly shirks all investigation of the truth about James II., obvious to most men. He talks vaguely about *calumnies*; I have observed that this word, along with *prejudices* and *exaggerations*, is always the stock resource of any tottering cause. For him, it seems, Lingard's history is no authority. When treating of the enemies of the great Order, Balmes forgets to number among these enemies Popes and Cardinals, Legates and Bishops, Dominicans and Franciscans.

Not long after Loyola's brotherhood first appeared, the Protestants of Transylvania established a government based on toleration of all religions, a new fact in the history of the world. It would not be reasonable to expect Balmes, writing sixty years ago, to be aware of this fact; as to the toleration that now exists, he sets it down to the multitude of religions, to unbelief, to indifference, to softened manners, to weariness of war, to the press, and to frequent travel; no doctrine can here pretend to an exclusive influence (ii. 144).

Of what use was Protestantism to learning? asks Balmes (iii. 365). It may be answered that her votaries, unlike some of the Jesuits, would have nothing to say to the False Decretals, and that the Magdeburg Centuriators gave to the world some knowledge of the documents upon which all study of history must be based. When Matthew Paris was first printed, a new revelation of the past was announced to Europe. The German authors, to whom I have referred, were of further service when they caused their opponent Baronius to unlock the stores of the Vatican. Many Universities had overspread Europe, but

which of them all, in usefulness to mankind, rivalled Leyden or Oxford as she stood a little before 1660? Balmes, with much wisdom, says not a word about Galileo.

He declares that Protestantism exalted far too high the power of Kings as against Popes. On this subject the ideas of James I., it is true, are not so sound as those of St. Thomas Aquinas much earlier. But the deposition of Queen Elizabeth by Rome (to this our champion never refers) had given a rude shock to all moderate men, whatever might be their creed. We are told (iii. 132) that Catholicism has always preached obedience to civil powers; we think with some astonishment on Paul V. and Venice, and on sundry struggles with the German Cæsars. Much sound political doctrine is quoted from Aquinas and Suarez, but Balmes neglects to tell us that these able writers, to whom be all honour, seem to have had no influence whatever on tyrants like Charles of Anjou and Alva's master.<sup>1</sup> Would the learned Southern oracles have approved the destruction of Castro by Pope Innocent X.? Yet we are told (iii. 416) that Catholicism, thanks to its mild teaching, relieves government from the necessity of being harsh; whereas Japan, where there is no idea of heaven or hell, enforces most cruel laws. I think that Alva in Flanders, Carafa in Hungary, may challenge comparison with anything ever done in Japan. Balmes accounts for the revolution in the Netherlands by saying that if Philip II. had been a zealous Protestant, the Flemings would perhaps have declared that they would not obey an heretical Prince (iii. 219). This is indeed the philosophy of history.

We come down to 1640. Balmes, who regards the whole of Elizabeth's reign as an atrocious Despotism, bewails the rivers of blood shed in the English civil wars—a long and terrible revolution. He might have been happier had he considered that the wars in England lasted

<sup>1</sup> Balmes tells us (iii. 126) that Aquinas had but to explain his maxims, and tyranny was banished from Europe. This would have amazed the subjects of Peter the Cruel. Balmes objects to the oppression of his Catalan brethren in 1640; much worse oppression went on before 1517.

only from 1642 to 1646, with a little subsequent spurt in 1648. It is most absurd to compare them with the great religious wars of France and Germany, or even with the Carlist wars in Spain. He brackets our civil wars with the French Revolution as great catastrophes (iii. 249). He is on firmer ground when he points to Lutheranism in Germany and Denmark as favouring the oppression of the commons; but he says hardly anything of the action of Calvinism except in France; it was Calvinism, it seems, that was the real cause of the system of Louis XIV.

Spain and Italy, says Balmes, are the two countries in which the dignity and prerogatives of civil power have been least exaggerated (iii. 105). He should have read the history of Southern Italy under the Spanish yoke; he himself must have known something of the blessings conferred on Spain by Ferdinand VII. What a contrast, our champion remarks, are the doctrines of Hobbes to those put forth in Spain at the same time! It may be answered that neither Hobbes nor the Spanish preachers of freedom (freedom confined to words) had much influence on their respective countries. Balmes declares that the excesses committed under European monarchs are not worth mention if compared with the outrages of non-European tyrants (iii. 244). He takes for his example the reign of Louis XIV. Let him contrast his pet aversion, Henry VIII., with the Frenchman; he will find that there is nothing in Henry's acts that equals the widespread misery which gave rise to the Camisard revolt. Balmes imagines a vain thing when he writes that the pauperism of England is due to Henry, the destroyer of monasteries.

He has much to say on Luther's theories as to marriage and on the Hessian divorce; Rome will have no divorces, and is a bulwark of family life, in strong contrast to certain Protestant States (i. 322). But he never refers to the Pope's power of pronouncing marriages null, a power that has often been exercised on trivial pretexts. The annals of Venice and Warsaw furnish us with many examples of this loose practice, which gives the rich a most unfair advantage over the poor. He makes an admission

in favour of Protestantism when he contrasts the American Revolution with the French Revolution a few years later (iii. 306). The first was democratic and God-fearing; the last was mad and impious. He fails to point out that Washington and his friends were bred in the faith so hostile to the Papacy, while Mirabeau and his friends grew up under the shadow of the altars so dear to Balmes.

Protestantism, we are told (iii. 184), has revealed no dogma that adds to man's dignity, and has created no closer ties of brotherhood. I would here point out that it was Protestants of the strictest belief that were foremost in abolishing the slave trade and all property in blacks. English cruisers were long on the watch to intercept Spanish ships laden with unholy prey.<sup>1</sup> The slave trade was briskly carried on about 1860, and very high personages in the Madrid Court, zealous for Ultramontaniam, shared in the profits. Balmes hints (i. 417) that those who put down the slave trade in the last Century were guided by views of self interest; thus a new light is thrown on the characters of Wilberforce and Buxton. Our champion has much to say about Las Casas, but little about the millions of Indians worked off in the mines. There has been nothing under the Protestant sway in India, whether Dutch or British, parallel to the Inquisition of Goa.

Balmes declares (iii. 74) that the reason why Europe cannot reconcile order and freedom is that she has forgotten the Catholic doctrines on this point. Protestantism has wavered between the two opposite poles of Locke and Hobbes. Man, given up to himself, can produce nothing but the empire of force. Balmes should have studied the history of England for 150 years before his day; he would there have found something better than Pope Martin's dealings with the Sicilians at the time of the Vespers, or the hideous cruelties which formed the annals of the Flemish towns for years after 1300. The Papacy seems

<sup>1</sup> Balmes (i. 411) sets out the Bull of Gregory XVI. against the slave trade; the author of the Bull trod in the footsteps of earlier Popes. But these Bulls seem to have had no practical effect, unlike the Acts of the British Parliament.



to have done as little for the down-trodden victims in that age as it did for the subjects of the King of Naples after 1849. The teaching of Rome on government varies much. She rejoices in crushing a mild Emperor like Louis of Bavaria; she is shocked at Basnage and Jurieu avowing the right of resisting tyrants.

I must do Balmes the justice to say that he is never guilty of the folly of averring that the Papal religion, being an old-established faith, has the right to persecute its enemies, while Protestantism, being a new growth, cannot claim any similar right. A reference to the days of Diocletian or to the Japanese system after 1600 is enough to upset this curious argument, of which certain men are fond.

Taking leave of Balmes, we may ask, how do we account for the fact that Protestant lands are credited with higher rank than their Catholic rivals as regards wealth and power? The main cause is no doubt the Monastic system. A vast proportion of the soil of Spain and Italy seems to have been in the hands of the monks about 1790. Even France before that date was most heavily burdened by her clergy; for scores of years she had been fighting the English with one hand tied behind her back. The South of Germany has usually proved inferior to the North. Wherever convents are, there are sure to be swarms of beggars, as was well known of old to all travellers in Italy. The clergy were often untaxed, and about one-third of the land in most Roman Catholic countries seems to have been held in mortmain. England did not in the long-run suffer much in consequence of the destruction of our convents; our lower orders had little to complain of from 1600 almost to 1800. Not only convents, but cathedrals, if fully equipped, are somewhat of a hindrance to the well-being of a nation, owing to the vast numbers of clergy required to serve them.

Another cause of Southern inferiority is seen when we remember that the numerous clergy were long withdrawn from the power of the law. It is a bad system that allows any class of men to act as judges of what is right, and to



stand apart from the commonwealth. The privilege that St. Thomas of the English bought with his blood was long the rule in his own and other countries; there Law could not be termed Sovereign. The tendency of any distinct class of men (here the clergy are not worse than others) is to hush up scandals instead of dragging them into the light of day; of this the state of the Tuscan nunneries in the days of Ricci is a memorable example. The system of Sanctuaries, whither the arm of the law could not force an entrance, is a further instance of the harm that clerical supremacy may produce; here holiness seemed to cover murderers and robbers with her sheltering wing.

The vast number of useless holydays in many countries is one more check to popular well-being. The celibacy of the clergy has been a clog on Latin Europe ever since Pope Siricius ordained the system in 385. The sturdiest champions of the practice in the Middle Ages were those Popes who raised Rome's power to the highest point. But secret licentiousness was almost universal; certain Spanish parishioners, so early as 1322, used to force their priest to keep a concubine, that he might not prey upon their wives and daughters. Popes complained that the flocks were corrupted, instead of being reformed, by the clergy. Organised concubinage was the remedy adopted; it was certainly better than the immorality with which Petrarch charges the Papal Court at Avignon. The Council of Constance effected nothing as to purity of morals. Even Alexander VI. had to denounce clerical corruption. We know what the Scotch Church was in 1559. Prelates of high rank accused the evil lives of the priests as one of the chief causes of Luther's success. After he had come forward, the German Diet declared it to be a regular and settled matter that licenses were sold to the clergy, year by year, to indulge their lusts. Even after 1600 Bishops were branding the morals of their clergy as a great source of the prevailing heresy. About this time, as we learn from various Papal Bulls, confessors seduced their female penitents, especially in Spain, and made use of their

priestly powers to grant absolution to their victims.<sup>1</sup> In these matters there has been a great improvement in the last two Centuries, especially in France and Germany. We often see a priest who is revered by the whole country side, and whose presence is a blessing to all around. This must provoke a regret that he is debarred from leaving behind him any children to continue the paternal virtues. The State loses much by this stern rule of the Church. Any reader of the *Vicar of Wakefield* must rejoice that Protestantism is not hampered in the matter of clerical celibacy.

Let us weigh all these drawbacks to the prosperity of a nation, and we shall have some idea of the advantages enjoyed by Britain, for a hundred years after 1688, in the struggle with her Southern rivals. It is no marvel that France had to yield Canada, and to give up all hope of founding an Empire in India. Happier in our own days, France has a better chance of keeping on the same level as Britain, Germany, and Russia; the fate of Poland and Spain is an ever-present lesson to those whom it may concern.

Rome is in our time subjected to the scrutiny of a shrewd generation, which is by degrees leavening all the world. What can more tend to breed infidelity than the monstrous legends, served up to the faithful by their pastors? Can we fancy a youth, trained at any Italian University, brought face to face with the tale of the miracles of Loretto or of St. Januarius, which are still devoutly insisted upon? Such a youth will soon learn to class the Gospels with the modern legends; these last stir the disgust of reasoning men, much as image worship is a stumbling-block in the way of all Jews and Mahometans. Let us hope that these

<sup>1</sup> See Lea's book on *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, an American work, especially pp. 324, 355, 386, 420, 532, 535. This is the best work on the great question. One of the most powerful witnesses against the effects of clerical celibacy is Dessalines d'Orbigny. He was sent out by the French Government in 1826 under the auspices of Cuvier and Humboldt; he spent eight years in traversing South America, investigating men, animals, and plants. He describes the debauched lives of the priests; but in his book on *Bolivia*, written in Spanish, he speaks favourably of the Jesuits and their work: when they were put down the secular clergy managed very badly. See p. 192 of this work.

legends may soon receive their deathblow; any one who attacks them is striking at Infidelity quite as much as at Ultramontaniam. Many nations still subject to Rome have trodden in Luther's footsteps in abolishing Monasteries and Sanctuaries, though in this policy Spain and Austria-Hungary have not been very thorough; it is to be wished that all hitherto blinded peoples may soon go on to grapple with clerical Celibacy, Legends, and Relic-worship. As to this last, the Monarchs of Europe seem in our time to have become wiser than Philip II., who writes thus to a Cardinal in 1584: "You tell me that you are in possession of half the shoulder of St. Lawrence, and that you propose to send it to me. The relic is a grand one, and I, as you know, am specially devoted to this particular Saint. The other half is already here, and the two parts can now be united. Your present is beyond price, and I cannot thank you sufficiently. . . . You tell me that the bone split of itself down the middle when you least expected. This is one of the circumstances which enhances its value. Send the evidences, I beseech you, along with it."<sup>1</sup>

This letter was written, at a time when Bacon and Galileo were alive, by a man who was the ruler of a great part of the civilised world, and was far removed from the age of the Crusades. We look tolerantly upon superstitions of the time of Aristides or Camillus, but not so tolerantly upon certain religious freaks of the Emperor Julian.

Rome knows how silently to drop old cherished beliefs, if the public opinion of the world be very much against these. Thus after 1700 we find very little reference to the Deposing power of the Papacy, though in earlier days Rome had bidden scores of English priests to go to a cruel death on behalf of this dogma—a much-prized jewel. In our own time Europe was convulsed over the loss of Rome's Temporal power; we may safely prophesy that within a few years Rome will see that it is far more to her advantage to save the souls of the Italians

<sup>1</sup> Froude, *English History*, xii. 40. Philip's father did not stoop to these follies.

than to drive them into Infidelity by calling in foreign arms in support of her Temporal dominion. She will go back to her old system during the first seven Centuries of Christianity, and will allow that Italy has as much right to the priceless blessing of national union as France or Spain can have. The Temporal power of the Papacy has long since done its appointed work in Europe.

One blot in Papal history due to this Temporal power is the fact that the Popes have too often taken the side of Despotism against Freedom, Europe's choicest heritage. Rome indeed often followed the opposite policy before Luther's revolt; since that time she has usually found that despotic Kings are her natural allies, unless these Monarchs, being themselves heretical, rule over true believers, as in Poland and Ireland. This accusation of Despotic leanings causes great wrath in the breasts of Rome's best advocates; but it is true nevertheless. Hardly had Luther come forward when Clement VII. allied himself with Charles V. to crush the freedom of Florence; Ancona and Perugia soon underwent the heaviness of the Papal hand. Leo X. had already done his best to make Francis I. more despotic than earlier Kings. It was by Absolutism that Bohemia and part of Hungary were driven back to the Roman fold; it would be unreasonable to expect the Popes to renounce such protection. The Papal influence was steadily thrown into the Spanish scale when Portugal was struggling for her freedom. On the other hand, when the Jesuits were doing their best to crush England's old institutions under James II., it must be allowed that Innocent XI. took the other side. The French Revolution caused Rome a fearful shock. Hence she was not favourable to Spanish, South American, or Polish patriots; she was likely to obtain more from despotic Kings and Queens, taught from their cradles to revere her, than from the noisy debaters of popular assemblies. She enjoyed a glorious triumph for the ten years after 1849. She allowed her Bishops in France to utter blasphemous eulogies of Napoleon III. so long as he protected the Temporal power in its full extent. No remonstrance did she make

against the atrocious tyranny of the last Neapolitan Kings, and Ultramontaniam all over Europe loudly pronounced the system of these Kings to be admirable.<sup>1</sup> The Age of Debasement was here most unpleasantly prominent, as it was when all Ultramontanes rejoiced at the abolition of the old constitution of Hungary in 1849 with its 600 years of existence. Cardinal Wiseman prided himself much upon his defence of the Austrian Concordat of 1855, a yoke forced upon Hungary and other unwilling realms which lay at the time dumb and crushed beneath a brutal Despotism.<sup>2</sup> He never seems to pay the least regard to the consent of the people interested, while he applauds the "freedom of the Church to condemn bad books" (Locke for instance), a condemnation to be enforced by the State. The whole of this absurd Concordat was swept away by the popular voice after Sadowa, while Pope Pius in vain uttered shrill protests. On the other side, any honest author must acknowledge with shame the follies of the Anglican Church about 1680 as to passive obedience; also the grinding tyranny that afflicted Denmark and part of the Baltic coasts for many years after 1660. Lutheranism, it must be allowed, has not a good record in this matter; there is little to choose between certain Berlin journals and the Roman enemies of the Italian Government. Our own age has seen a mighty struggle between Despotism and Freedom; the former seemed to triumph in 1867, when Napoleon III. tried his weapons upon Garibaldi; but a Century hence, France will judge her Emperor very differently from the sentence that Italy will pronounce upon her Patriot, whom nearly all strong Roman Catholics throughout the world in our time held accursed.

The general spirit of the Latin Church, there is no gainsaying, fostered Freedom in the various states of Europe from the Twelfth century downwards until 1500 or shortly afterwards. It has been very different in our day, but the Roman advocate may answer: "In the days

<sup>1</sup> Any one who doubts this fact should read the Ultramontane Reviews of England or France written between 1850 and 1860.

<sup>2</sup> See the Cardinal's *Life*, ii. 133.



of old there was no eagerness to confiscate Church property, or to debar the Church from all interference in education. Modern Liberals are very different from Langton or Acuña.”<sup>1</sup>

Toleration seems to be closely connected with Freedom. I have already called attention to the nobles of Transylvania, who first proclaimed the new doctrine to Christendom. France followed in the same path some years later, owing her enlightenment to her King rather than to her people; Poland and Holland started the policy of modified tolerance, but it had to encounter many drawbacks in these two nations. England's progress in this policy was but slow; heretics, though not many, were burnt down to the reign of James I.; then imprisonment and fines were undergone by those who dissented from the Church. After 1688 a legal toleration for Protestant Nonconformists was at last established; and the English Roman Catholics, who had roused the wrath of the whole land, had but little comparatively to complain of. After this time persecution went on briskly both in France and Ireland; but the motives of the persecutors in these two countries were widely different; in the former, the ruling class had a deadly hatred of Protestantism; all heretical worship was sternly forbidden, and even women underwent many years of imprisonment for meeting to serve God in their own way. In Ireland the great motive of persecution was the desire of the Protestant gentry to clutch fast the lands once held by Roman Catholic owners; so long as these last were steadily kept down and deprived of all influence, their worship might be scornfully winked at. In France the lower class, in Ireland the upper class were the chief sufferers. Amid the hideous enactments of the Penal laws, it is pleasant to remember that the hardships of the galleys were never known at Cork or Dublin. The Revolution brought toleration to the French Protestants, and indirectly brought the same blessing to their Irish fellow-

<sup>1</sup> Azeglio makes his Florentine patriot of 1530, in a great crisis, vow to build a Dominican monastery. In our time the patriot would be more likely to pull down some already existing monastery.

sufferers. Protestantism has never caused the wholesale expulsion of heretics, the source of such ruinous damage in France, Poland, and Southern Germany.

The Popes had shed much heretical blood in Rome about the middle of the Sixteenth century; it was natural that they should applaud the attempted extermination of French and Dutch Protestantism; they blessed the efforts of Guise and Alva. They became the mainstay of the League which threw France into anarchy for years. They ordered a solemn procession at Rome for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and denounced the Camisard rebels. In 1790 Louis XVI. was much hampered in his dealings with the National Assembly by the knowledge that Pope Pius VI. had condemned, among other Revolutionary theories, the opening of all posts to Non-Catholics. Some years earlier the Papal Nuncio at Warsaw had opposed the grant of toleration advocated in the Polish Diet; Anarchy has sometimes been as useful to Rome as Despotism; but the union of Order and Freedom has usually, since 1520, been something beyond her.

Dating from the year 1562, various parts of Europe were drowned in blood for a hundred years; France, Russia, Germany, and Poland in turn underwent the worst of prolonged civil wars. Rome was an abettor of two of these awful tragedies, and her Jesuit emissaries often flitted across the scene of slaughter and starvation. The spirit of persecution raged in countries of the Roman obedience, even when this spirit was not inspired by the Popes; as in the case of the Moriscoes of Andalusia and Valencia, and in the insolent outrages that drove the Cossacks in Poland into their great revolt. The worst blemish as regards Toleration, on the Protestant side, may be seen in the Republican rule in Ireland for eight years after 1652. Here was shown a genuine hatred of the Roman religion, a relentless spirit that reminds us of Ferdinand II. and Louis XIV. Had the Cromwellian sway lasted thirty years, the Pope would assuredly have lost all Ireland. But a milder form of Protestantism was soon set up in England, and thus Ireland escaped the fate of Bohemia, at

least in things spiritual. It is amazing that so wise a State as Holland should have resorted to a system of pin-pricks as a means of annoying her Roman Catholic subjects, one-third of the nation, through most of the Seventeenth century. Far worse was the rule of Charles II. over his Presbyterian subjects in Scotland, but here religion and politics were fast bound together. Sweden lagged grievously behind, and never admitted of dissent until our own day. Toleration owes little to the great leaders of the Reformation at its outbreak, as we see by Calvin's letters to the Protector Somerset, exhorting him to draw the sword against all Englishmen who deviated from the true standard of religion, whether to the right or to the left. As to Servetus, he would have been burnt at Rome as cheerfully as at Geneva. Luther has a better record than Calvin as to abstinence from persecution. What Protestantism did was at once to diminish the number of victims, and to cease from bloodshed altogether, long before the Pope's subjects followed in the same road. The pattern given by Transylvania in the middle of the Sixteenth century should never be forgotten; yet she was then looked upon by Western Europe as a half-barbarous State. It would have been well had Britain copied her between 1800 and 1829.

As to cruelty, the Christ of the Gospels seemed to shrink from the slightest taint of inhumanity while He was upon earth. We might therefore assume that any Church professing to tread in His footsteps and to be the heir of His infallibility would have nothing to do with brute force, would respect the rights of conscience, and would avoid all bloodshed when carrying out her mission. This was the case with Rome for the first thousand years of her spiritual sway, with a very few exceptions. But heresies sprang up, and the temptation to put them down by force was too great. The fate of the Albigenses is well known; the stout Bohemians had to wage long wars ere Rome would let them alone. Later, the fires of intolerance were blazing alike in Spain, Italy, France, and England. Even if executions must go on, it is reasonable to complain

that so painful a death as that of fire should be sanctioned by the Latin Church almost down to 1800. In no point has she so broken away from her oldest traditions as in the practice of humanity. How seldom have Popes denounced the bloody wars waged in the name of religion! Benedict XIV. came very late in the day. One of the worst deeds of the Papacy was the medal struck and the picture painted in honour of the great French Massacre, so fatal to women and children. This joy in blood was probably a curse to more than one age; before the outbreak of 1641, Irish priests must have gazed upon the aforesaid painting in the Vatican, and have learnt the lesson there taught. Even in the Nineteenth century violence was still in favour at Rome; the Jews of that city were again subjected to degradation after their freedom under French rule; and every one has heard of the Jewish child Mortara, torn from his parents by the officials of Pius IX. to be bred a Christian. Religious toleration, the greatest blessing bestowed on mankind of late years, is condemned by the Syllabus of that Pope. It is easy to see why France and Italy, unlike England, sternly forbid the clergy to meddle in the education of youth, whether at schools or at the universities; the gap between modern thought and Church teaching seems to be ever widening. The story of the Roman Index of prohibited books from first to last is not edifying.

A vast difference would have been made in the subsequent history of Europe had some Pope, blessed with all the vigour of Innocent III. and all the tolerance of Benedict XIV., arisen about the year 1560 and proclaimed that the great quarrel should be fought out only on the lines sanctioned by the New Testament. The Protestants would have gladly assented to the substitution of reason for brute force. The three nations that would have been the greatest gainers by this new policy are Ireland, Bohemia, and Poland.

Cruelty to animals has often led to cruelty inflicted on men. In the humanity of everyday life Southern Europe has widely departed from the teaching of St. Francis

Spain and Italy are ugly examples of this fact, as all travellers know. I have already glanced at the wanton mutilation of dumb beasts in Ireland. Germany seems to be the most tender of all nations in her dealings with the brute creation. We in England have made some progress in this matter since Hogarth issued his prints, though here there is still great room for improvement.

Truthfulness is a quality that is the surest mark of excellence, either in men or in institutions, and no quality is more earnestly enforced in the Bible. The Roman Church, resting so long upon Constantine's Donation and the Forged Decretals, here seems to come far short of excellence. The mass of idle legends and strange miracles, widely sown throughout the world, cannot bear the keen eyes of our own Century. It is hopeless to expect the Papacy to condemn anything that brings money into the Treasury; and thus the educated youth of France and Italy are likely to be kept in perpetual estrangement from religion.<sup>1</sup> Even worse morality than this may be laid to the charge of Rome; it is set down in the Decretals that an oath disadvantageous to the Church is not binding, and that an oath extorted by force may be annulled by the Church.<sup>2</sup> Hence the rule that no faith was to be kept with heretics. Many a monarch has been absolved by Rome from his obligations; even so great a man as Edward I. was guilty of craving this indulgence from the Pope.<sup>3</sup> Protestant States have as a rule kept fairly free from political breach of promise; perhaps the worst exception is the breach of the treaty of Limerick. The Popes in the Nineteenth century seemed very tolerant of the perjuries of Bourbon

<sup>1</sup> Ireland will probably hold fast to the Pope long after her sisters, since she has no juggling miracles.

<sup>2</sup> Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii. 207.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Newman, in his *Historical Sketches*, i. 147, thus draws a veil over the atrocious perjury sanctioned by Cardinal Julian in 1444, a crime condemned by that Turk-hater, Mr. Freeman:—"The Turk managed to negotiate with (the Christian) leaders, to put them in the wrong, and then to beat them at Varna." What would be thought of a Protestant writer who should accuse the English Roman Catholics about 1680 of inveigling Oates into perjury? The rout at Varna is well described by Gibbon.



Kings in Spain and Italy.<sup>1</sup> Truthfulness is indeed a great virtue, and our English population is happy in that it knows, as a general rule, nothing of casuistry. A statesman, like Mr. Gladstone, who seeks to dive into such mysteries, will only create a feeling of mistrust among his blunt countrymen. A happier remembrance is the judgment passed upon Mr. Kinglake's famous book by the voice of the whole land. This work was meant to flatter the British army at the cost of their French comrades; Britain would have none of this, and seems to have astonished the eloquent author by the judgment pronounced by her almost unanimous Press. Mr. Froude experienced something of the same kind after his apologies for the deaths of Fisher and More. Truth and fairness are simply vital to Britain's existence; and nowhere are these qualities more needed than in relating the history of the past.<sup>2</sup> Currie's account of Ireland in 1641 is a standing lesson of the folly of attempting to manipulate facts; Lecky is the exact opposite of this writer; I wish that the like could be said of Froude.

A strong contrast may be seen between Britain and France in the way they meet serious blows. In 1855 the British army seemed on its way to utter ruin; yet nothing would content the populace at home but the exact truth; any Minister paltering with this would have been hooted from office. France was tried in 1870 much in the same way; but she seemed to find her comfort in monstrous lies, which were propagated far and wide, sometimes by her officials. In this aversion from truth Italy resembles France; often have Italians accounted to me for their disasters by the simple word "treachery." Such an infamous perversion of justice as the Dreyfus case would have

<sup>1</sup> On the other side, the shameful disregard of plighted faith by the Prussian Kings after 1815 must be borne in mind. Much of the infidelity rampant in Germany must come from the pretentious piety of these monarchs.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Manning talks of the English Penal laws, "to which the fabulous cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition are merciful" (*Essays on Religion and Literature*, 45). Even if he shrank from Llorente, he might at least have read Mariana's *Spanish History*, where he would have learnt from the Jesuit that the fables were grim realities.

been utterly impossible in Britain; and this perversion was acclaimed by all but the entire voice of French Ultramontanes. But I feel bound here in fairness to notice a late example of Protestant delight in falsehood. The Dutch of old, in their struggle with Spain, seem never to have disguised the actual truth, and this was much to the benefit of their nation. But in the late struggle for South Africa the leaders of the Boers have manufactured the most astounding lies for the benefit of Europe. Never was a war waged with greater humanity; yet letters have been constantly sent over, painting the British soldier as a ruffian who outrages women and bayonets babes; all details as to time and place being carefully eschewed. Nowhere have these falsehoods had a greater success than in Protestant Germany.

But there is one quality in which Rome's disciples assuredly take the lead—that of self-sacrifice. No other form of Christianity can reckon up in all ages so many martyrs, who have often perished in most frightful torments. Others have often been known to lay down their lives at their own hearths for some great principle; but the Roman missionary takes his life in his hand, and goes forth into barbarous lands, heedless what may become of him. The fairest aspect of the Roman Church is to be found, not in Europe, but in other quarters of the world.<sup>1</sup> The hero who lately gave his life for the lepers is a type of the whole class. We know Manzoni's Capuchin, bearding the high whenever there is a question of the rights of the low. The Irish priest of the Eighteenth century must have led a life of amazing self-denial. The French priest of our own day (Balzac has drawn him admiringly) sacrifices much. He has to abjure his own intellect and blindly obey the word of command given by his bishop; he gets a mere pittance from the State; his flock, except in the West, is composed of women, for the average French peasant cares only for the things of earth; and this same peasant is the

<sup>1</sup> Self-sacrifice abroad has been known to be united with brutality at home; thus the priest whose cruelties provoked the great Camisard revolt had in the earlier part of his life undergone much in foreign missions.

true ruler of France in our day.<sup>1</sup> Yet all these drawbacks are powerless to prevent many good Frenchmen from devoting themselves to the service of the Church.

The mention of French peasants suggests a comparison. Two great masters have painted the French and the English churl on his deathbed, the wretched being whose whole soul, up to the last moment, is clutching at earthly wealth. In *Eugenie Grandet* the dying man is visited by the priest with cross, candles, and all due rites. In *Middlemarch* the dying man is left to breathe his last almost alone, without any religious service. Yet can any reasonable being dream that the Frenchman has any advantage over the Englishman, though receiving what claims to be a passport to the next world?

The Revolution, it is said, has unboned France, and assuredly there is a vast difference in our day between her and England in their attitude to religion. Mr. Gladstone used to read the Lessons to the people in his parish church, and no Englishman, whether friend or foe to the Anglican Establishment, ever thought the worse of him on that account. But what a shout of laughter unquenchable would burst forth from all France if any of her Republican ministers were to take a public part in the services of the Mass! England, when she retrenched this service about 1560, gave one more proof of the truth of Hesiod's old saw, that the half is often more than the whole. The English artisan's hostility to things spiritual does not usually go beyond a harmless joke; what the French artisan's attitude to religion can be was shown at Paris in 1871.

As to the great principle of Order, the Roman Church lost for the time all hold upon France in 1789, and mourns in our own day the perverse spirit of Italy. What may happen in Austria-Hungary at the death of the present wise ruler no man can tell; it is an evil thing for nations when all

<sup>1</sup> I remember going on Sunday to a church near Dijon, where I was almost the only male in the congregation. We had a good sermon, with some fair hits at Luther and Henry VIII. Meanwhile all the peasants were in the churchyard playing a game something like our skittles.

hangs upon one life. Protestant cities sometimes break out, as the Germans in 1848; but they are never guilty of the savage ferocity that was directed against the French and Spanish clergy by the mob. Even in England's worst moments, such as the riots of 1780, there was a shrinking from bloodshed; the Englishman, like the Roman of the best days of the Republic, has a reverent care of the lives of his fellow-citizens, however unpopular they may be.

Let us contrast two smaller nations as to the respective merits of Protestantism and her rival in furthering national unity, that choicest fruit of Order. Scotland, as also Ireland, is peopled by distinct races, which in both cases have waged fierce wars upon each other in the past; they have found another root of bitterness in the difference of creed, which has vexed each of the two nations. But Protestantism seems to have bestowed on Scotland a fund of common sense unknown in Ireland; the races and creeds of the Northern land, however savagely they may have raged against each other in old times, now bring all their diverse glories into one common stock. Old feuds are happily buried; the staunch Presbyterian loves to hear the tunes that welcomed Prince Charles, a disciple of Rome; on the other hand, when Scotland's great novelist, an earnest Episcopalian, drew the highest character he ever reached, he found his model in a Calvinist farmer's daughter. All the Patersons and Andersons in Lothian think that they are somehow partakers in the credit gained from the great Northern Celtic victories achieved between 1644 and 1746. Nothing can be more absurd to the eyes of an historian, nothing more delightful to the lover of mankind. If we turn to Ireland, we see the two creeds of the nation standing apart in sullen aloofness. Neither Londonderry nor Limerick can forgive their old wrongs. The strong arm of Britain can alone keep the peace, as she does in India. The Irish Protestant feels that it is a matter of life and death to him that his best interests should never be handed over (according to the Gladstonian scheme) to be dealt with by a body of men whose antics are the scorn of Westminster. The Roman Catholic clergy, the most

powerful body in the land, make not the slightest pretence of offering any terms to the weaker party. A most different state of things prevails among the Germans and Magyars; here Catholics and Protestants have learned to forget old wrongs and to respect each other.

Scotland owes much to her love of learning; Ireland is not allowed by her Prelates to enjoy the State education possessed by her sister Catholic lands. A weighty matter indeed is this education, whether bestowed on nations or on individuals. Let the training of Queen Victoria be contrasted with the training of Queen Isabella II., and let the results be duly marked. No Englishman would be shocked if it became known that the young heirs to the throne were being solidly grounded in the Thirty - Nine Articles. But what an uproar would be created in Spain if it were suspected that the future King was being taught to seek for wisdom in the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX.!

As to sound Learning, it seems to have been almost quenched altogether in Spain, while in Italy, Galileo and Giannone had but a sorry fate. Voltaire in France fared somewhat better. But there has been nothing in the South, at least down to 1740, like the free spirit of inquiry prevailing alike in Holland, Britain, and North Germany.

As to Art, the North has no names to set against Raphael and Murillo. In Architecture there is more of a balance; on one side we have the fanatical fury of the Calvinists, which has wrought such havoc in Britain, France, and elsewhere; on the other side we have to mourn the utter want of taste in the Jesuits and their school. What hundreds of noble old buildings have been by them pulled down and rebuilt in the most tawdry style! Even St. Peter's at Rome has not escaped the heedless hands of a generation that cared little for true taste or for antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Why could not

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani is very indignant about the treatment received by the tombs of the old Popes from their successors after 1600. In Architecture there is a great contrast between Italy and England; the former broke away



the Popes remain at Avignon, where there was less to spoil?<sup>1</sup>

I have written of the Age of Debasement, and I am unwilling to end without repeating what has been already said as to the more modern Papacy dragging down Southern Europe below her right level. Let the history of Poland be studied when the Jesuits were driving into rebellion the men of the Greek Church, loyal of old to the State; a policy pursued for scores of years. Let the Inquisition in Spain be marked, as also the result of Spanish ignorance of the art of governing colonies. Let Italy's long disease of disunion be considered, happily now at an end. Let the wholesale cruelties perpetrated by the Austrian Hapsburgs in Germany, in Bohemia, in Hungary be kept in mind. One Latin country has indeed made a better show in History than some of those mentioned above; but even France has had to mourn an unusually long religious war, the expulsion of the most industrious part of her population, and the loss of Alsace; these blows, falling upon her at intervals, were all connected with the adherence of France to Rome. Protestant Germany has had to groan under the Thirty Years' War, but Sweden and Holland have in a great measure escaped the doom of the South, and their losses have not been the result of their religion. As to England, within the last 400 years she has undergone only two very great calamities: the wars, especially in Ireland, that lasted for eleven years after 1641, and the loss of the American colonies. England took the right side at the Reformation; and that same Papal religion, which of old had done so much for her, now benefited her indirectly by dragging down her Southern enemies. England seems to have lost little in Valour, Freedom, and Order; as to Morality, I have already touched upon our great national sin.

from all Gothic ideas early in the Fifteenth century, under the teaching of Brunelleschi at Florence; Oxford went on persevering in her imitations of the old Gothic down to 1640 and even later. It is a striking instance of English conservatism.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Freeman, strong in History and Architecture alike, is the author of the last sentence.

The Future seems to belong to Churches long estranged from Rome. Let us contrast 1762 with 1902; in the former year France, Austria, and Spain were assailing mis-believers far inferior in number to themselves; Poland still stood unpartitioned; and Italy slumbered, well contented with the Papacy. In 1902 the Greek and the Protestant throughout the world have increased enormously, while the subjects of Rome have made no corresponding strides. The history of these last since 1650 is but a sorry affair, if compared with the history of the Latin nations for 500 years after 1017. Still the Pope takes comfort from the thought that never, in any age of the world, were his clergy so united to the Rock of Peter as now. Where is Gallicanism? it is asked; where is Jansenism? But however devoted the clergy may be, an ever-widening gap yawns between them and the laity. The two Creeds of Western Europe stand apart, the one appealing to men and to reason, the other to women and to sentiment; the one priding itself upon truthfulness, the other upon self-sacrifice. Each of them is worried by a festering sore of unbelief, and this holds good of Britain and Germany, France and Italy, all alike. Socialism pushes its way in most countries, though here Britain has as yet little to dread. We know not what the future may have in store for us, but it must be plain to most men that the Almighty has dealt very gently with our land all through the last 400 years of our national life. We have never had a St. Francis, but on the other hand we have never had a Torquemada. The creed established among us for the last few ages may at least boast that she has not dragged down her votaries below their fair level; indeed, Britain has never wielded such power, not even in 1815, as she has put forth at the moment I am writing, in the year 1902.



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